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SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

EDITED, WITH NOTES AND INTRODUCTION,

BY

HARRY EDWIN BURTON, PH.D.
PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

NEW YORK ·:· CINCINNATI ·:· CHICAGO
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BURTON. LIVY.

W. P. I

PREFACE

The chief purpose of these selections from Livy is to give to college students a better appreciation of the genius and versatility of the historian than can be gained from the reading of a single book or of several books treating a single period. There is also a historical purpose. Chapters have been selected which treat the most important periods or events in the history of Rome which are covered by the remains of Livy's work. These have been found to be in general the most interesting as well as the most significant. It has been thought advisable to include only passages of some length, — that is, of several chapters, — giving a complete account of a single period or event, and many isolated chapters of considerable interest have therefore been omitted.

The text is that of Weissenborn, revised in part by M. Mueller, with somewhat numerous changes based upon a consideration of the manuscript readings and the suggestions of recent editors and commentators. The introduction is little more than a brief statement of facts, which every student should have in mind while he is reading Livy. The notes are intended to give such assistance and information as the student will find necessary in his independent reading of the text. In the belief that long notes containing a superabundance of illustrative material are often a source of confusion, brevity has always been

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sought. In referring to Livy, passages included in this book have been used wherever it was possible; passages not included are given in full. With the same idea, — that the college undergraduate rarely looks up a reference not contained in the book he is using, — grammatical explanations are given in the notes, reference to grammars being in general omitted. The brief bibliography at the beginning of chapters or groups of chapters is inserted for the convenience of teachers and the possible use of students.

In the preparation of the notes, the commentary of the Weissenborn–H. J. Mueller edition has been of constant assistance. Professor Morris of Yale has made many valuable suggestions. To Professor Morgan of Harvard I am indebted more than I can say; he has read the manuscript carefully, and his many scholarly suggestions have been gratefully accepted.

HARRY EDWIN BURTON.

Dartmouth College,
Hanover, New Hampshire,
October, 1904.

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INTRODUCTION

1. **The General Character of Roman History.** — The Romans of Livy's time had not developed the idea of minute scientific study, and their standard of historical accuracy was therefore different from our own. Moreover, the sources of information for the earlier periods were meager and inaccurate. Add to these fundamental disadvantages the fact that, simply to make his narrative interesting, a writer felt justified in passing lightly over an important incident or in magnifying the importance of a trivial one, and it is not surprising that we find very obvious inconsistencies and impossibilities. The statement of Quintilian (10, 1, 31), though written a century after Livy, indicates the general conception of historical writing: *historia est proxima poetis et quodam modo carmen solutum, et scribitur ad narrandum, non ad probandum.*

2. **Sources for the History of the Early Period.** — The writing of history at Rome began with the *annales pontificum*, called also *annales maximi*, — a brief statement of important events, annually exhibited by the *pontifex maximus*, and preserved in his office, the *Regia*. Here were recorded the names of magistrates, the death of important men, decrees, campaigns, eclipses, prodigies, etc. The publication of these records began, according to Mommsen, in the first half of the fifth century B.C. — Another duty of the *pontifices* was the preparation of the annual calen-

dars (*fasti*). These designated the days for the celebration of festivals and sometimes affixed a brief statement of an important event to the anniversary of the day on which it had occurred. These calendars, first published in 304 B.C., were an occasional, though not important, source of historical information. — The same name (*fasti*) was applied to official lists of consuls (*fasti consulares*), priests (*fasti sacerdotales*), and triumphs (*fasti triumphales*). The *fasti Capitolini* still extant (so called because they are kept on the Capitoline Hill in the *Museo dei Conservatori*) were inscribed on the outer wall of the *Regia*, and contained in their complete form a chronological list of consuls, censors, dictators, and *magistri equitum* down to about 13 A.D., with a list of triumphs down to about 12 B.C., and a record of the *ludi saeculares*, ending with those celebrated under Domitian. — Of the same nature were the *libri lintei*, mentioned several times by Livy, — lists of magistrates kept in the temple of *Juno Moneta* on the Capitoline Hill. — Finally, there were the records kept by officials of the events of their magistracies, but to what extent these were preserved and were accessible appears to be doubtful.

These were the only general and official sources of information at the disposal of the earliest writers of Roman history. To these must be added various documents, which were of great historical value for the particular occasions to which they referred; many of these, inscribed on stone or bronze, survived for centuries. Dating from the early republican period, there were, for example, the treaty with Carthage of the year 509, the treaty with the Latins of the year 493, and the first tribunician law of the same year.

The written information accessible to the early historians consisted, therefore, in a body of brief statements, in little

more than a chronological list of magistracies, battles, etc. Moreover, meager as this record was, much of it must have perished in one way or another from time to time, and especially when Rome was occupied by the Gauls in 390. How then did the earliest historians make up a readable narrative? Evidently from two sources, — oral tradition and their own imagination. The facts could be verified to a certain extent by consultation of written records, if, in an uncritical age, the writer felt the need of such verification; the details he must accept as he found them in popular legend, and sometimes, to make an interesting and consistent story, he must himself make alterations and additions. Hence, in the historians of the late republic and the empire, who, for the early period, were simply copying their predecessors, — and copying them often in an uncritical way, — it is not surprising to find confused and incredible statements.

3. **Early Roman Historians.** — The earliest historians of Rome wrote in Greek, because Latin had never been used for literary prose, and the possibilities of Greek for that purpose were well known to them. Their productions were called *annales*, a name that indicated the strict chronological sequence of the narrative. It was their custom to treat very briefly the earlier period and to discuss at greater length the events of their own time. The earliest and most famous of these was Q. Fabius Pictor, who lived during the Second Punic War, and wrote a history of Rome from Aeneas down to his own time, a work from which Livy, directly and indirectly, got much information. (See 22, 7, 4.)

The first Roman historian who wrote in Latin was M. Porcius Cato, censor in 184 B.C. He followed the custom

of all the early writers in beginning with the foundation of the city, and continuing the narrative to his own time. His work was called *Origines*, because he described at some length the settlement of the various Italian states.

The most important historian of Rome in this period was a Greek, Polybius, whose admirable history, in 40 books, covered the period from 220 to 146. Unfortunately only the first five books are preserved.

4. **Historians of the First Century B.C.** — Not until the first century B.C. did the historian begin to pay much attention to the form of his work. Hitherto he had set down in bald, mechanical fashion the events of successive years. Now there was an attempt to produce something more worthy to be regarded as literature. The best example of this tendency is L. Coelius Antipater, who wrote a valuable and, at the same time, interesting account of the Second Punic War. This subject illustrates another idea which appeared at this time, — the composition of detailed histories of single periods, instead of the more superficial treatment of the whole history of Rome. The old custom, however, still survived, as in the work of Valerius Antias, who wrote probably about the middle of the first century B.C., and whom Livy used perhaps more than any other of his predecessors.

In the Ciceronian and Augustan periods the literary treatment of historical subjects received still greater attention, and the history of the century was so varied and interesting that very many writers were tempted to enter this department of literature. And not only was more attention given to the form, but there was in some cases a more scholarly treatment of the facts. The antiquarian researches of such men as Varro eliminated from early

history much that was false, and tended to make the naturally careless writer more careful in his statements. Still there was such carelessness in historical writing as would not now be tolerated. A good example of this is the *De Viris Illustribus* of Cornelius Nepos, a thoroughly unscholarly work. When the subject was a contemporary one, there was less probability of error, and the works of Caesar and Sallust are in general trustworthy.

5. Titus Livius. — Historical writing reached its highest point in the latter half of the first century B.C., and Titus Livius is the best representative of the period. Of the details of his life we know little. He was born at Patavium, in northeastern Italy, probably in 59 B.C., but the date rests only upon a questionable statement of Jerome. His life was passed in Rome, where he seems to have been on intimate terms with Augustus, but took no part in public life. Of his family relations we know only that he had a son and a daughter. To the former he probably addressed a work in epistolary form on rhetorical training. He wrote also, according to Seneca, philosophical works and dialogues on philosophical and historical subjects.

6. Livy's History of Rome. — Livy's great work, the history of Rome, was begun between 27 and 25 B.C., when he was between thirty and thirty-five years old, and was continued till his death in 17 A.D. The date of composition of several books can be approximately determined. The title appears to have been *ab urbe condita libri*, though Livy once refers to his work as *annales*. Having begun in the old-fashioned way with the foundation of the city, he had at the time of his death written 142 books and carried the history down to the year 9 B.C. Like the annalists, he treated the early period in somewhat summary

fashion, and discussed contemporary history in great detail. In Books I–XXX he gives the history of 550 years; in Books XXXI–LXVIII, 100 years; in Books LXIX–CVIII, 50 years; in Books CIX–CXLII, 42 years. Though the work was not finished at his death, he had published from time to time sections of varying length.

The early part of the history, 45 books, fell naturally into three sections of 15 books each: Books I–XV, Aeneas to the Punic Wars; Books XVI–XXX, the Punic Wars; Books XXXI–XLV, the Macedonian Wars. Livy nowhere refers to an intentional arrangement of this sort, and it does not appear to have been carried further. The division into decades, which is to a large degree arbitrary, was adopted by the mediaeval copyists for their own convenience.

During Livy's lifetime his confident expectation of glory was satisfied; Pliny relates that a man traveled all the way from Spain, with the sole purpose of beholding the famous historian. After his death, his work became the chief authority on Roman history. Seneca calls him *disertissimus;* Tacitus, *eloquentissimus* and *eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus imprimis.* Quintilian speaks of him as *mirae facundiae viro* and elsewhere (10, 1, 101) gives this detailed estimate of his work: *Neque indignetur sibi Herodotus aequari T. Livium, cum in narrando mirae iucunditatis clarissimique candoris tum in contionibus supra quam enarrari potest eloquentem; ita quae dicuntur omnia cum rebus tum personis accommodata sunt. Affectus quidem praecipueque eos qui sunt dulciores, ut parcissime dicam, nemo historicorum commendavit magis.*

Of the 142 books, only 35 have survived,—namely, Books I–X, which contain the period from Aeneas to the end of the Third Samnite War (293 B.C.), and Books XXI–XLV, which

begin with the Second Punic War and carry the history to the end of the Third Macedonian War (219–167 B.C.). Of the other books only small fragments have been preserved by later writers, but we have brief summaries (*periochae*) of all except Books CXXXVI and CXXXVII, compiled perhaps in the fourth century A.D., when the work was still complete.

7. **Livy's Sources.** — Minute study of the work has shown that Livy made little use of original documents, — public records, inscriptions, etc. He apparently did not avail himself to any extent of the *annales maximi* and made no systematic use of the earlier writers, as, for example, Fabius Pictor and Cato. His narrative is based in large part on the works of later writers, but to what extent he is indebted to them individually it is impossible to say with certainty, as he rarely gives the names of his authorities. Those most often mentioned are the following: Valerius Antias (mentioned thirty-six times in the extant books), whose work was similar to Livy's, covering the complete history of Rome in at least 75 books; Claudius Quadrigarius, who began his history with the Gallic invasion (see on 9, 5, 2); Licinius Macer, who was more reliable than many of his contemporaries and predecessors, in that he consulted original sources, *e.g.* the *libri lintei;* L. Calpurnius Piso, consul in 133, whose history, beginning with Aeneas, was brought down at least to the year 146; and Coelius Antipater, whose excellent history of the Second Punic War has been already mentioned. But Livy's great authority for one of the most important parts of his work, the Second and Third Punic Wars and the wars with Macedonia, was Polybius. Though he is mentioned by name only five times, the extant books of Polybius show Livy's indebtedness to him.

8. **Livy's Historical Value; his Style.** — Taking into account the nature of his sources, the enormous extent of his work, and the standard of his time, we must regard Livy as a fairly careful and accurate historian. His work, he says (9, 17, 1), is not intended merely to give pleasure to the reader. He fully realized the insufficiency of his evidence, especially for the earlier period; in 6, 1, 2, speaking of the early history of the city, he says, *res cum vetustate nimia obscuras, velut quae magno ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur, tum quod parvae et rarae per eadem tempora litterae fuere, una custodia fidelis memoriae rerum gestarum, et quod, etiam si quae in commentariis pontificum aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleraeque interiere.* Elsewhere (1, 8, 5; 8, 6, 3; 8, 40, 4), he suggests that the facts as he finds them have been intentionally misstated. He himself was anxious to discover and to state the truth. He did not lack industry, but did not attempt a decision where none was possible; 7, 6, 6, *cura non deesset, si qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret.* In using the writings of his predecessors, he weighed the probability of their statements; where there were conflicting stories, he accepted that which appeared to him most probable. He possessed a large fund of that quality which is most valuable to a historian — common sense; it was this which made him look askance at the legends of the early city (see *Praef.* 6 ff.) and in his later books reject the absurd exaggerations of Valerius Antias.

But, whatever may be said of its historical accuracy, the great merit of Livy's history is the fact that it is always readable, — often intensely interesting. The thought is clear, the style simple. The sentences are usually short, the structure rarely complicated. The thought, not the

language, holds the attention. And yet he does not restrict himself to a bare statement of facts; on the contrary, there is an abundance of picturesque detail, which gives color and life even to the dullest portions of the narrative. Understanding human nature and having a keen dramatic instinct, he was able to portray scenes of emotion or excitement with a power and reality which few historians have attained. Livy seems, therefore, to approach the ideal of historical writing. As a careful investigator, he was at least not below the standard of his time; as a writer, he has for many centuries aroused the interest and won the admiration of discriminating readers.

9. **Manuscripts.** — The Mss. of the first decade are divided into two classes. One is represented only by a palimpsest at Verona, of the fifth century, containing Books III–VI. The most important representative of the other class is the *Mediceus* of the eleventh century; there are, besides, a Paris Ms. of the tenth century, and several others of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries.

The Mss. of the third decade also are divided into two classes. The best representative of the first class is a Paris Ms. (*Puteanus*), of the fifth century. There are also four copies of this, of the ninth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The second class is as old as the first, but only fragments of Books XXVII and XXIX are preserved in the earliest Ms., a Turin palimpsest of the fifth century. Another representative, the *codex Spirensis* of the eleventh century, is lost (all but one leaf), but its readings are preserved in the *editio Frobeniana* published at Basle in 1535. There are other Mss. closely related to the lost *Spirensis*.

The fourth decade comes to us in a Bamberg Ms. of the eleventh century, containing Books XXXI–XXXVIII

(through chap. 46, sec. 4). Another, the *Moguntinus*, is now lost, but was used for the Mayence edition of 1518 and the Basle edition of 1535.

The first five books, which are all we have of the fifth decade, are contained in a fifth-century Ms. found at Lorsch in 1527 and now in Vienna.

10. Editions. — The *editio princeps* was published at Rome about 1469. On account of their use of Mss. now lost, the Mayence edition of 1518 and the Basle edition of 1535 are important. The edition of Drakenborch, 1820–1828, in fifteen volumes, contains a very full textual commentary. There is no complete edition with full critical apparatus; of critical editions of portions, that of Luchs, Berlin, 1888–1889, containing Books XXI–XXX, is perhaps the most important. The edition of Zingerle, Vienna, 1888–1890, contains a brief critical apparatus for Books I–XL. The edition of Weissenborn, revised by M. Mueller (Teubner, Leipsic, 1899–1901), contains a brief critical apparatus for the whole work. Most useful is the edition of Weissenborn, revised in part by H. J. Mueller (Berlin, 1873–1900), which contains an explanatory commentary for the whole work, as well as a brief critical apparatus.

TITI LIVI

AB VRBE CONDITA LIBRI

PRAEFATIO

Facturusne operae pretium sim, si a primordio urbis res 1
populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio nec, si sciam,
dicere ausim, quippe qui cum veterem tum vulgatam esse 2
rem videam, dum novi semper scriptores aut in rebus cer-

Preface. §§ 1–5: Livy's object in writing history; his hesitation in undertaking so great a task. §§ 6–8: his treatment of the earliest period. §§ 9–13: the history of Rome presented to his readers as a moral lesson.

1. **facturusne . . . sim**: the first part of a hexameter verse; the Mss. have *sim operae pretium*, but the correct reading is given by Quint. *Inst.* 9, 4, 74. There are in Livy many poetical quotations, often not in the exact form of the original (see M. H. Morgan, *Harvard Studies in Class. Philol.*, 1898), but such a rhythmical combination as this, which was generally regarded as a defect, was either purely accidental or was an arrangement which seemed to be demanded by the sense of the passage; cf. § 8 *haud . . . illa*. The Annals of Tacitus begin with a hexameter verse. — **primordio**: the singular is rare; the position emphasizes the element in his purpose which makes him doubtful, — the fact that he is to write a complete history, including the earliest period. — **perscripserim**: the perf. subj. represents a fut. perf. indic., the mood being due to the attraction of *futurus sim*. — **sciam**: the present tense suggests that the knowledge is still a possibility. — **ausim**: originally an optative form, found, chiefly in poetry, in a potential sense, as an equivalent of the present subjunctive.

2. **rem**: the writing of Roman history. — **videam**: in causal clauses with *quippe qui* Livy uses either indicative or subjunctive. — **dum**: causal as well as temporal; cf. 9, 9, 11; 45, 9, 7. — **semper**: to

tius aliquid adlaturos se aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem
3 superaturos credunt. Vtcumque erit, iuvabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse; et si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum
4 me, qui nomini officient meo, consoler. Res est praeterea et inmensi operis, ut quae supra septingentesimum annum repetatur et quae ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creverit, ut iam magnitudine laboret sua; et legentium plerisque haud dubito quin primae origines proximaque originibus minus praebitura voluptatis sint, festinantibus ad haec nova, quibus iam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae con-

be connected with *novi*, as the position indicates; the idea is, *Writers are constantly appearing who believe* etc.; cf. 5, 42, 6. — **in rebus**: *in regard to the facts*; cf. 40, 55, 8.

3. **utcumque**: as in § 8 and 45, 8, 5; for a different meaning see 21, 35, 2. — **rerum . . . consuluisse**: *to have contributed myself a man's part to the record* etc.; a remarkable accumulation of genitives. — **in obscuro**: Livy likes to use, in place of a pred. adj., a prep. with the abl. of an adj. used substantively; cf. 3, 45, 9 *in tuto*. — **nobilitate**: *renown*. — **nomini**: *reputation*; cf. 27, 49, 4; 45, 9, 7.

4. **res . . . laboret sua**: there is a gradual change in the meaning of *res*. With *est* and *repetatur* it means *the subject*; but the subject is the Roman state, and it is in the latter sense that the word must be taken with *creverit* and *laboret*. — **et inmensi**: this *et* is correlative with the one before *legentium*; its position is due to the fact that Livy intended to make *res* the subject of the second statement also, an intention which was forgotten in the length of the first sentence. — **ut quae**: always with the subjunctive in Livy; see on § 2 *videam*. — **legentium**: as *res*, at the beginning of its sentence, indicates the nature of the first difficulty, so *legentium*, in its emphatic position, suggests that of the second. For this use of the participle cf. § 5 *scribentis* and see on 21, 42, 4 *spectantes*. — **origines . . . originibus**: it is a characteristic of Livy to repeat a noun instead of using a pronoun; cf. 1, 3, 3 *urbem . . . urbis*. — **haec nova**: especially the civil wars. — **iam pridem**: to be taken with *conficiunt*. — **se ipsae conficiunt**: *are working their own destruction.*

ficiunt. Ego contra hoc quoque laboris praemium petam, 5
ut me a conspectu malorum, quae nostra tot per annos vidit
aetas, tantisper certe, dum prisca illa tota mente repeto,
avertam, omnis expers curae, quae scribentis animum etsi
non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere posset.

Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem, poeticis magis 6
decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumen-
tis, traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est.
Datur haec venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis 7
primordia urbium augustiora faciat; et si cui populo licere
oportet consecrare origines suas et ad deos referre auctores,
ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut, cum suum condito-
risque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc
gentes humanae patiantur aequo animo, quam imperium
patiuntur. Sed haec et his similia, utcumque animadversa 8
aut existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam dis-

5. curae: *anxiety*. — **efficere**: for this use with an adj. cf. 45, 7, 3; *facere* is more common. — **posset**: apodosis of a non-occurrent condition.

6. condendamve: referring to those events which led to the foundation of the city; inserted as a correction or restriction of *ante conditam urbem*, which would have included everything prior to the foundation of the city, and much which did not pertain to it. — **fabulis, monumentis**: datives with *decora*.

7. origines: the object of *referre*, as well as of *consecrare*. — **potissimum ferat**: *chooses to present*; the superlative implies that there were several from whom the choice might have been made. Livy's attitude toward the history of this period is clearly shown in this passage. It is evident that many things which he states as facts in the early part of his history, he does not himself believe.

8. his: with *similis* and *dissimilis* Livy uses only the dat. of words denoting things (except in the phrase *veri similis*), the gen. or dat. of words denoting persons. — **animadversa**: *noted*. — **existimata**: *considered*. — **haud . . . discrimine**: *I shall not treat as matters of critical moment at any rate*; the expression does not occur elsewhere, but is analogous with *in incerto ponere*, *in aequo ponere* etc.; the meaning

9 crimine; ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint, per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit; labente deinde paulatim disciplina velut desidentis primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati
10 possumus, perventum est. Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum in-
11 ceptu, foedum exitu, quod vites. Ceterum aut me amor negoti suscepti fallit aut nulla umquam res publica nec

of *discrimen* is similar to that in Verg. *Aen.* 10, 108 *nullo discrimine habebo*.

9. **mihi**: ethical dative; the passage may be translated, *let every one follow my advice and observe carefully* etc.; cf. 24, 38, 7 *tum mihi undique clamore sublato turbam invadite*. — **disciplina**: *moral discipline*. — **desidentis**: the figure, which is continued in *lapsi sint* and *ire praecipites*, is from a falling building. — **sequatur**: with three objects, — the acc. *mores* and the two indirect questions, *ut . . . lapsi sint* and *ut . . . coeperint*; for the thought cf. 7, 2, 13. — **remedia**: there was some opposition to the reforms of Augustus.

10. **cognitione rerum**: *the study of history*. — **te . . . intueri**: the use of the 2d person in an indefinite sense, so thoroughly illustrated in this passage, is like the English idiom. This *te* is especially noteworthy, for the subject of an infinitive, if indefinite, is regularly omitted; Lane, 2212. — **omnis exempli documenta**: *instructive instances of every sort*; *exemplum*, according to its etymology a *sample*, is used ordinarily of a thing to be imitated or avoided, — a *precedent* or *warning*; cf. 1, 28, 11. — **in . . . monumento**: *on a monument that all may see*. — **inde foedum . . . vites**: from *capias* supply a suitable verb, *e.g. intellegas*.

11. **aut . . . aut**: for a similar correlation, where the second member indicates what is intended to be an absolute certainty, cf. 9, 7, 4. — **nulla . . . nec . . . nec**: for the excess of negatives cf. 1, 26, 12 *non tulit populus nec patris*

maior nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam civitatem tam serae avaritia luxuriaque inmigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit; adeo quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat. Nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates de- 12
siderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia invexere. Sed querellae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae, cum forsitan necessariae erunt, ab initio certe tantae ordiendae rei absint; cum bonis potius ominibus votisque 13
et precationibus deorum dearumque, si, ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus, ut orsis tantum operis successus prosperos darent.

lacrimas nec . . . animum. — **in quam civitatem**: for *civitas in quam;* the antecedent, which would naturally be in the same construction as *res publica*, has been taken into the relative clause and made to agree in case with the relative pronoun; cf. 1, 1, 3 *in quem locum.* — **serae**: Livy often uses an adjective where earlier prose writers would have used an adverb; cf. 1, 4, 6 *mitem;* 1, 7, 1 *priori;* 1, 16, 2 *sublimem.* — **adeo**: here in the sense of *immo, in fact.*

12. **nuper**: in 39, 6, 7, where Livy is speaking of the campaign of Cn. Manlius Volso in Asia, in 187, he says, *luxuriae peregrinae origo ab exercitu Asiatico invecta in urbem est.* Here, however, he is thinking of the general corruption of recent times, the beginning of which Sallust, *Cat.* 11, 6, ascribes to the return of Sulla's army from Asia. — **luxum atque libidinem**: the combination of two words beginning with the same letter is very common in Livy; so, *pereundi perdendique;* cf. 22, 3, 10; 22, 7, 6. *luxum* seems to be the "condition", as distinguished from *luxuria* in § 11, which is the "tendency" (Seeley). *libidinem* includes excesses of every sort. — **erunt**: for the rare indic. with *forsitan* cf. 21, 40, 11. — **ab initio . . . rei**: pleonasm is not uncommon in Livy; see on 22, 5, 7.

13. **votisque et precationibus**: the two nouns are in apposition with *ominibus; que* and *et* are correlatives, as in 5, 49, 1; 21, 30, 2. — **orsis**: sc. *nobis; tantum operis* is its object. — **successus prosperos**: as in 22, 3, 4.

BOOK I

Aeneas in Italy. Alba Longa. The Founding of Rome.

1 1. Iam primum omnium satis constat Troia capta in ceteros saevitum esse Troianos; duobus, Aeneae Antenorique, et vetusti iure hospiti et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerunt, omne ius belli Achivos 2 abstinuisse. Casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Enetum, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsi et sedes et ducem rege Pylaemene ad Troiam amisso quaerebant,

Book I. **1–7**[8]. References: Dion. Hal. 1, 45; 53–88. Verg. *Aen.* 7, 37 ff. Plut. *Romulus*, 2–12. Niebuhr, 1, 179–240. Lewis, *On the Credibility of Early Roman History*, 1, 298–405. Ihne, 1, 3–27. Mommsen, 1, 38–71. Seeley, in the introduction to his edition of Livy, Bk. I.

1. 1. **iam primum omnium**: this marks a transition from the preface to the history and calls attention to the exact point at which the writer proposes to begin; cf. 9, 17, 5. This use of *iam* may be compared with our colloquial "now" or "well." Livy has made no effort to begin his work in formal fashion. — **constat**: indicating, as elsewhere, a tradition rather than a historical certainty. — **duobus**: dat. with *abstinuisse*; the construction, common enough with other verbs denoting separation, does not occur elsewhere in classical Latin with *abstineō*; see, however, on 5, 47, 4 *quibus*. — **vetusti . . . hospiti**: not based upon any statement of the Iliad. — **pacis . . . fuerunt**: the Iliad makes this assertion only of Antenor; 7, 350 ff. According to Verg. *Aen.* 1, 242 ff., Antenor founded Patavium, Livy's birthplace, a fact which explains, perhaps, his conspicuous position here at the beginning of the history. — **fuerunt**: Livy often uses the perf. where the plup. is expected, especially in relative clauses and clauses with *ubi*, *ut*, etc.; he thus makes the statement from his own point of view without reference to another verb; cf. 1, 25, 8 *pugnatum est*.

2. casibus deinde variis: the position favors the interpretation, *their fortunes diverging from this point* (Seeley). — **Enetum**: see *Il.* 2, 852 ff. — **Pylaemene**: killed by Menelaus; *Il.* 5, 576 ff.

venisse in intimum maris Hadriatici sinum, Euganeisque, 3
qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsis Enetos Troianosque eas tenuisse terras. Et in quem primum egressi sunt locum Troia vocatur, pagoque inde Troiano nomen est; gens universa Veneti appellati. Aeneam ab simili 4
clade domo profugum, sed ad maiora rerum initia ducentibus fatis, primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum, ab Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Troia et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi 5

3. **in quem . . . locum**: see on *Praef.* 11 *in quam civitatem*. — **Troiano**: this, according to Livy's general usage, is a pred. adj. attracted from the nom. into the dat. to agree with *pago*; cf. 1, 4, 7 *Faustulo*; 3, 48, 5 *novis*. — **universa**: Trojans and Eneti together. — **Veneti**: probably an Illyrian race, identified with the Paphlagonian Eneti only on account of the similarity of names. — **appellati**: for the agreement with the pred. nom. cf. 22, 45, 7 *facta*.

4. **Aeneam . . . venisse**: the acc. and inf. construction with *constat* is resumed, in spite of the interruption of *et in quem . . . appellati*. — **ab simili clade**: as Antenor had been driven from Paphlagonia, so Aeneas, though spared, was forced to leave Troy; Dion. Hal. 1, 47. The words indicate both the cause of his exile (cf. 30, 20, 8) and the time when it began; cf. 40, 56, 7; this use of *ab* is rarely found before Livy. — **profugum . . . fatis**: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 2; for this combination of an abl. abs. with an adj. modifier cf. 45, 7, 5. — **maiora rerum initia**: *greater undertakings*; if it is assumed that *rerum initia* presents a single idea, the agreement of *maiora* with *initia*, instead of with *rerum*, is natural; see, however, for a similar peculiarity of agreement, 1, 4, 4 *iusti*; 22, 7, 5 *coacervatorum*. — **in Macedoniam**: he was said to have founded the town of Aenea on the Thermaic Gulf. — **Laurentem agrum**: Laurentum was about five miles south of the mouth of the Tiber. According to Verg. *Aen.* 7, 30 Aeneas landed close by the mouth of the river. — **tenuisse**: *cursum* may be supplied, but no object is necessary. The English verb *to hold* is sometimes used intransitively in a similar sense.

5. **Troia**: not attracted, as usual, into the dative; see on § 3 *Troiano*. The exact location of the place, though it evidently existed in Livy's time (*est*), is un-

Troiani, ut quibus ab inmenso prope errore nihil praeter arma et naves superesset, cum praedam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum ea tenebant loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris con-
6 currunt. Duplex inde fama est: alii proelio victum Latinum pacem cum Aenea, deinde adfinitatem iunxisse tradunt;
7 alii, cum instructae acies constitissent, priusquam signa canerent, processisse Latinum inter primores ducemque advenarum evocasse ad conloquium; percunctatum deinde, qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti domo quidve
8 quaerentes in agrum Laurentem exissent, postquam audierit multitudinem Troianos esse, ducem Aeneam, filium Anchisae et Veneris, cremata patria domo profugos sedem condendaeque urbi locum quaerere, et nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique et animum vel bello vel paci paratum, dextra
9 data, fidem futurae amicitiae sanxisse. Inde foedus ictum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam; Aeneam

known. — **ut quibus . . . superesset**: a causal clause; see on *Praef.* 4. — **inmenso**: as the word means literally *unlimited*, *prope* is justified; cf. 45, 9, 5. — **Latinus**: son of Faunus, eponymous hero of the Latin race, worshiped after his death as Jupiter Latiaris.

6. **duplex**: Vergil follows the first story (*Aen.* 7, 147 ff.), though Latinus himself is represented as opposed to the war.

7. **instructae . . . constitissent**: cf. 22, 45, 5. — **inter primores**: *into the front rank*, or, possibly, *in the midst of his chieftains*. — **percunctatum**: like *admiratum* in § 8, a participle, not an infinitive. — **aut . . . ve**: disjunctives, where we should use copulatives.

8. **audierit**: the usual tense with *postquam* in ind. disc. when the principal verb is in the perfect infinitive; cf. 40, 55, 7. — **multitudinem**: Verg. *Aen.* 2, 796 *ingentem comitum . . . numerum*. — **patria**: *native city*; cf. 3, 50, 15; 26, 13, 15. — **et nobilitatem . . . et animum**: the two conjunctions are correlative.

9. **salutationem**: 7, 42, 5 f. *cum in aciem armati exercitus processissent, salutationem factam et permixtos dextras iungere ac conplecti inter se lacrimantes milites*

apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio. Ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesticum publico adiunxisse foedus, filia Aeneae in matrimonium data. Ea res utique Troianis spem adfirmat tandem stabili certaque sede finiendi erroris. Oppidum condunt; Aeneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat. Brevi stirpis quoque virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit, cui Ascanium parentes dixere nomen.

2. Bello deinde Aborigines Troianique petiti. Turnus, rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adventum Aeneae fuerat, praelatum sibi advenam aegre patiens, simul Aeneae Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neutra acies laeta ex eo certamine abiit; victi Rutuli, victores Aborigines Troianique ducem Latinum amisere. Inde Turnus Rutulique diffisi rebus ad florentes opes Etruscorum Mezentiumque, regem eorum, confugiunt, qui Caere, opulento tum oppido, imperitans, iam inde ab initio minime laetus novae origine urbis, et tum

coepisse. — **data**: contemporaneous with *adiunxisse*; see on 21, 1, 5 *inposito*.

11. **Lavinium**: about fourteen miles south of Rome, not far from the coast; always an important religious center. — **stirpis**: old nom. sing. in place of the usual form *stirps*; cf. 26, 13, 16. — **cui**: this must be explained as a dat. of ind. obj., due to the fact that *dixere nomen* is equivalent to *dedere nomen*. *dicere* meaning *to name* is not uncommon, but *dicere nomen* is very rare; Verg. *Aen.* 3, 693 *nomen dixere priores Ortygiam*.

2. 1. **Rutulorum**: adjoining the Laurentian territory on the south. — **pacta . . . fuerat**: passive forms with *fui*, etc., which are common in Livy, do not generally differ in meaning from the ordinary forms. They may emphasize, however, as here, the fact that a condition no longer exists; cf. 26, 13, 18; Lane, 1609.

2. **Latinum amisere**: Festus, p. 194 *Latinus rex, qui proelio . . . nusquam apparuerit iudicatusque sit Iuppiter factus Latiaris.*

3. **Etruscorum**: the Etruscans were at this time the most powerful people in Italy; see Mommsen, 1, 150–161. — **Mezentium**: see Verg. *Aen.* 8, 481 ff. — **Caere**: dative or locative ablative; cf. 1, 3, 8 *Albae regnaverunt.* — **tum**: in Livy's time Caere was an insignificant village. — **iam inde ab initio**: *already at the very beginning*;

nimio plus quam satis tutum esset accolis rem Troianam crescere ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis iunxit. 4 Aeneas, adversus tanti belli terrorem ut animos Aboriginum sibi conciliaret nec sub eodem iure solum sed etiam nomine 5 omnes essent, Latinos utramque gentem appellavit. Nec deinde Aborigines Troianis studio ac fide erga regem Aeneam cessere. Fretusque his animis coalescentium in dies magis duorum populorum Aeneas, quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat, ut iam non terras solum sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui inplesset, tamen, cum moenibus bellum 6 propulsare posset, in aciem copias eduxit. Secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae etiam ultimum operum mortalium fuit. Situs est, quemcumque eum dici ius

cf. 1, 5, 5. — **nimio** = *multo*, as in 39, 40, 9; cf. 30, 30, 27 *nimis*. — **gravatim**: a very rare substitute for *gravate*. — **socia**: rarely used as an adj. in prose before Livy.

4. **nec . . . solum** = *et non . . . solum*, the *ut* being carried over from the preceding clause; cf. 2, 32, 10; 3, 44, 5. — **Latinos**: see Verg. *Aen.* 12, 190 f. and 821 ff.

5. **fretusque**: the conjunction means *and so*, as often in Livy. — **ut iam . . . inplesset**: 5, 33, 7 *Tuscorum ante Romanum imperium late terra marique opes patuere. Mari supero inferoque, quibus Italia insulae modo cingitur, quantum potuerint, nomina sunt argumento.* — **cum . . . posset**: concessive. — **moenibus**: instrumental ablative.

6. **secundum**: though this is the second battle, the meaning is evidently *successful* (cf. 26, 10, 9), and the contrast is emphasized by the chiastic arrangement. — **situs est**: the common expression on tombstones, *lies buried*. Dion. 1, 64 says the body was never found. — **quemcumque**: the superstitious Romans, with their scrupulous observance of religious forms, were exceedingly careful to apply to a divinity his proper name, or, if he had several, the one most appropriate to the occasion. Here, Livy hesitates to call him Aeneas, because he has been deified under another name, and, on the other hand, he cannot use the words *situs est*, of Jupiter Indiges. — **super**: *on the bank of*; cf. 21, 45, 1 *insuper*. — **Numicum**: another form, less commonly used, is

fasque est, super Numicum fluvium; Iovem Indigetem appellant.

3. Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius, Aeneae filius, 1
erat; tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolume mansit. Tantisper tutela muliebri, tanta indoles in Lavinia erat, res Latina et regnum avitum paternumque puero stetit. Haud ambigam — quis enim rem tam veterem pro 2
certo adfirmet? — hicine fuerit Ascanius, an maior quam hic, Creusa matre Ilio incolumi natus comesque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Iulia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius, ubicumque et quacumque matre genitus — certe natum Aenea constat — abun- 3

Numicius. It is a small stream, flowing into the Mediterranean between Ardea and Lavinium. — **Indigetem**: probably derived from *indu*, an old form of *in*, and *gen*, the root of *gigno*. The name was applied especially to deified mortals. Dion. 1, 64 says a ἡρῷον was erected to Aeneas with the inscription, Πατρὸς Θεοῦ Χθονίου, ὅς ποταμοῦ Νομικίου ῥεῦμα διέπει, which would indicate that Aeneas was indentified with the river god. Ovid, *Met.* 14, 596–608.

3. 1. **indoles**: properly a colorless word, but here used in the sense of *virtus*; cf. 9, 6, 12. So *ingenium* sometimes has a special meaning which does not properly belong to it; *e.g.* Cic. *Fam.* 13, 10, 2 *versabatur in hoc studio . . . cum ingenio*. — **res Latina**: *the Latin state*; cf. 1, 6, 3 *Albana re*. — **avitum**: referring to Latinus. — **stetit**: Livy often uses a sing. verb with two subjects; cf. 21, 40, 3; 33, 32, 5.

2. **haud ambigam**: *I shall not discuss*. — **certo**: the neuter of the adjective used substantively; cf. 9, 11, 4 *pro infecto*; see on *Praef.* 3 *in obscuro*. In general, Livy is very free in the use of adjectives as substantives. — **hicine**: *hi-ce-ne*, the *e* of the intensive *ce* being weakened to *i*; Lane, 662, 663. — **maior** = *maior natu*, the noun being rarely added by Livy, if the context makes the meaning clear; cf. 30, 37, 6. — **quem Iulum eundem**: *the same one whom as Iulus*; see on *Praef.* 11 *in quam civitatem*. The question is whether the successor of Aeneas was Ascanius, the son of Lavinia, or another Ascanius, called also Iulus, the son of Creusa; Verg. *Aen.* 1, 267 f.

dante Lavini multitudine florentem iam, ut tum res erant, atque opulentam urbem matri seu novercae reliquit, novam ipse aliam sub Albano monte condidit, quae ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata.

4 Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam coloniam deductam triginta ferme interfuere anni. Tantum tamen opes creverant, maxime fusis Etruscis, ut ne morte quidem Aeneae nec deinde inter muliebrem tutelam rudimentumque primum puerilis regni movere arma aut Mezentius Etruscique aut
5 ulli alii accolae ausi sint. Pax ita convenerat, ut Etruscis Latinisque fluvius Albula, quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis

3. **ut . . . erant**: *according to the standard of that time*; cf. 5, 41, 1; 21, 34, 1. — **sub**: the town was built on the northern slope (*dorsum*) of the mountain, below the highest summit. — **Albano monte**: the modern Monte Cavo, about thirteen miles southeast of Rome, on the edge of the Roman Campagna. — **urbis**: for the repetition of the noun cf. § 9 and see on *Praef.* 4 *originibus*; after *quae* the use of the noun is conspicuously harsh. — **Longa Alba**: the name was *Alba Longa*, but *Longa* is here placed first for emphasis, as it is the word which is being explained; so in 1, 12, 6 *Statori Iovi*. — **appellata**: Livy often omits the auxiliary in both independent and subordinate clauses.

4. **Lavinium**: sc. *conditum*. — **coloniam deductam**: this use of a perf. part. in agreement with a noun, to be translated by an abstract noun with a dependent genitive, was not common before Livy; Lane, 2285. *deducere* is the regular word with *colonia*. — **triginta**: Verg. *Aen.* 1, 269. — **morte**: abl. of time, but expressing also cause; cf. 45, 9, 7. — **inter**: *during*. — **ausi sint**: this use of the perf. subj. in clauses of result, where the sequence of tenses calls for the imperfect, is very common in Livy. In such cases there is a desire to emphasize the grammatically subordinate verb by partly freeing it from its dependence, the statement being made from the point of view of the writer, without reference to the principal verb.

5. **Albula**: Verg. *Aen.* 8, 332. — **Tiberim**: Serv. *ad Aen.* 8, 72 *Tiberim alii a rege Aboriginum dictum volunt, qui iuxta dimicans interemptus est, alii ab eo rege quem Glaucus, Minois filius, in Italia interemit, alii, inter quos et Livius, ab Albano rege, qui in eum*

esset. Silvius deinde regnat, Ascani filius, casu quodam in 6
silvis natus. Is Aeneam Silvium creat; is deinde Latinum 7
Silvium. Ab eo coloniae aliquot deductae, Prisci Latini appellati. Mansit Silviis postea omnibus cognomen, qui Albae 8
regnaverunt. Latino Alba ortus, Alba Atys, Atye Capys, Capye Capetus, Capeto Tiberinus, qui in traiectu Albulae amnis submersus celebre ad posteros nomen flumini dedit. Agrippa inde, Tiberini filius, post Agrippam Romulus Sil- 9
vius, [a patre accepto imperio,] regnat. Aventino fulmine ipse ictus regnum per manus tradidit. Is sepultus in eo colle

cecidit; cf. § 8. The name is connected with an Oscan root *teb*, which appears to mean a *mountain stream*; cf. *Tibur*, *Tifata*, *Tifernus*. The meaning of the name would thus be similar to that of *Albula*, which is probably to be connected with *Alpes* and *Alba*, the *mountain town*.

6. **Silvius**: Livy does not give the common tradition; according to Dion. 1, 70 (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6, 764), Silvius was the son of Aeneas and Lavinia, Ascanius or Iulus being the son of Creusa; the latter, on the accession of Silvius, became a priest. The earliest tradition ascribed the foundation of Rome to the Trojans themselves or to Romulus, the grandson of Aeneas. (Sall. *Cat.* 6; Serv. *ad Aen.* 1, 273.) This list of names was a fabrication of the first century B.C., invented to fill the gap of over four hundred years between the fall of Troy and the foundation of Rome.

7. **creat . . . ortus** etc.: there is a praiseworthy attempt at variety in the manner of stating the parentage of the successive kings. — **appellati**: for the agreement with the pred. noun see on 1, 1, 3 *appellati*.

8. **Silviis**: for the case see on 1, 1, 3 *Troiano*. — **cognomen** = *nomen*; cf. § 9. — **Albae**: locative. — **Tiberinus**: Verg. *Aen.* 8, 330 ff. — **ad posteros**: for *ad* in the sense of *apud* cf. 1, 4, 8 *ad pecora*.

9. **per manus tradidit**: the phrase occurs elsewhere (*e.g.* 9, 17, 10), and seems to indicate the immediate delivery or the uninterrupted transmission of the thing in question. — **is sepultus**: *the fact that he was buried*, the participle being the important word; see on § 4 *coloniam deductam* and cf. 21, 1, 5 *Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae*. — **colle . . . colli**: see on *Praef.* 4 *origines . . . originibus*.

qui nunc pars Romanae est urbis cognomen colli fecit.
10 Proca deinde regnat. Is Numitorem atque Amulium procreat; Numitori, qui stirpis maximus erat, regnum vetustum Silviae gentis legat. Plus tamen vis potuit quam voluntas patris aut verecundia aetatis. Pulso fratre Amu-
11 lius regnat. Addit sceleri scelus; stirpem fratris virilem interimit, fratris filiae Reae Silviae per speciem honoris, cum Vestalem eam legisset, perpetua virginitate spem partus adimit.

1 4. Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis ma-
2 ximique secundum deorum opes imperi principium. Vi compressa Vestalis cum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat, Martem incertae
3 stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec dii nec homines aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia vindicant; sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur, pueros in profluentem aquam mitti iubet.

10. **maximus**: *older*; see on § 2 *maior*. For the superlative, used of only two, cf. 2, 24, 4; 21, 36, 8 *infimam*. — **aetatis**: objective genitive.

11. **filiae**: dat. with *adimit*. — **Reae**: this spelling is better than *Rhea*, as the name is probably the fem. of *reus*, and, as applied to a Vestal, is explained by a passage in Macrob. *Sat.* 3, 2, 6 *ut reus vocetur qui suscepto voto se numinibus obligat*. Rea is identical with Ilia, who, according to Ennius (Serv. *ad Aen.* 6, 778), was the daughter of Aeneas. — **legisset**: the king here has the function which later belonged to the *pontifex maximus*.

4. 1. **debebatur . . . fatis**: was owed to the Fates and therefore demanded by them, — a debt due to destiny. The English phrase "was due to" in the sense "was caused by" has lost its literal meaning and hardly does justice to *debebatur*. — **secundum**: *next to*.

2. **incertae**: because the father was unknown.

3. **dii**: with special reference to Mars. — **iubet**: the subject *rex* is to be supplied from *regia*, but the omission is awkward. The asyndeton gives to the sentence an abruptness which suggests the summary nature of the punishment.

Forte quadam divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus leni- 4
bus stagnis nec adiri usquam ad iusti cursum poterat amnis,
et posse quamvis languida mergi aqua infantes spem feren-
tibus dabat. Ita velut defuncti regis imperio, in proxima 5
eluvie, ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est — Romularem vocatam

4. **forte quadam divinitus**: two explanations are possible: that the expression embodies the question whether human affairs are regulated by the gods or by chance (cf. 5, 49, 1 *dii . . . forte quadam*; 22, 42, 10 *di . . . forte*); or, that it is a translation of the Greek θείᾳ τινὶ τύχῃ. For, though τύχη commonly suggests divine power and is so used in this phrase, it is also used in the exact sense of the Latin *fors*, and the latter word would have been used to translate the Greek. Considered as a translation, therefore, the Latin phrase contains no contradiction. — **divinitus**: for the adv. qualifying a noun cf. 6, 39, 6 *maximo privatim periculo, nullo publice emolumento*; also the common phrase, *forte temere*, with which *forte divinitus* may be contrasted. — **Tiberis effusus**: *Tiberis* is the subject of *poterat*, *Tiberis effusus* (*the fact that the river had overflowed*; see on 1, 3, 9 *is sepultus*), the subject of *dabat*. — **lenibus stagnis**: abl. of manner. Such floods were of frequent occurrence before the valley of the Forum and that of the Circus Maximus were drained, and the river was confined by walls. The bend in the river throws the water especially into the valley between the Capitoline and the Palatine, the place, according to tradition, where Romulus and Remus were abandoned. — **nec . . . et** = *et non . . . et*, the two conjunctions being correlative; cf. 9. 4, 8; 30, 30. 29; 40, 56, 3 *et . . . neque*. — **iusti**: *proper, ordinary*; the adj. would naturally agree with *cursum*; there is a similar peculiarity of agreement in 1, 9, 13 *violati hospiti foedus*; see on 1, 1, 4 *maiora*. — **amnis**: this pleonastic use is quite in Livy's style and similar to that of *urbis* in 1, 3, 3. — **quamvis**: with one exception, always used by Livy as an adverb; in 2, 40, 7 it occurs as a conjunction with the indicative. — **aqua**: the loc. abl. without a prep., where the noun is unqualified, is a poetical construction, but is common in Livy.

5. **in proxima eluvie**: *on the edge of the overflow*. — **ficus Ruminalis**: near the Lupercal, at the western angle of the Palatine, opposite the Capitoline. Ov. *Fast.* 2, 411 f. *arbor erat; remanent vestigia, quaeque vocatur Rumina nunc ficus, Romula ficus erat.* It was not from Romulus, however, that the tree got its name. It was

6 ferunt — pueros exponunt. Vastae tum in his locis solitudines erant. Tenet fama, cum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem ex montibus qui circa sunt ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse; eam submissas infantibus adeo mitem praebuisse mammas, ut lingua lambentem pueros magister
7 regii pecoris invenerit — Faustulo fuisse nomen ferunt —; ab eo ad stabula Larentiae uxori educandos datos. Sunt qui Larentiam vulgato corpore lupam inter pastores vocatam putent; inde locum fabulae ac miraculo datum.

probably sacred to Rumina (*ruma* = *mamma*, Fest. p. 270), goddess of nursing children, and came naturally to be regarded as the one under which the wolf suckled Romulus and Remus. Hence the incorrect derivation given by Livy and Ovid. It would appear from Ovid that the tree had almost disappeared in his time, and it is known that then and later a tree was venerated under this name in the Comitium, said to be the original one, brought from the Palatine by the augur, Attus Navius.

6. **vastae**: *empty*, *waste*, the original meaning, as in 3, 52, 5; cf. *vanus*, *vacuus*. The statement is inconsistent with Livy's subsequent reference to Evander, unless *in his locis* refers, not to the site of Rome, but to the small district surrounded by the Capitoline, Palatine, and Aventine. — **tenet**: cf. 21, 46, 10 *fama obtinuit* and the Greek λόγος κατέχει. — **quo**: see on § 4 *aqua*. — **in sicco**: see on 1, 3, 2 *certo*. — **mitem**: adjective for adverb; see on *Praef.* 11 *serae*.

7. **Faustulo**: attracted into the case of *ei*, to be supplied. The name is the diminutive of *faustus*. — **ad**: *at*; cf. *ad pecora* in § 8, and see on 1, 3, 8. — **Larentiae**: Acca Larentia was an old Italian earth goddess, identical with Dea Dia, and worshiped as the mother of the Lares. — **uxori**: dat. of ind. obj. with *datos* and dat. of agent with *educandos*. Another interpretation takes *ad stabula* with *datos*, translating the verb *carried*; cf. 30, 30, 19; 31, 37, 9 *praeceps ad terram datus*, and the phrases *in fugam dare*, *in vincula dare*, etc. If this is correct, *ad* is used in its ordinary sense, and *uxori* is to be taken only with *educandos*. — **sunt qui** etc.: an attempt to rationalize the story, based upon the fact that the goddess Acca Larentia was called also Luperca, and upon the secondary meaning of *lupa*.

Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit aetas, nec 8
in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes, venando peragrare saltus.
Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto iam non feras 9
tantum subsistere, sed in latrones praeda onustos impetus
facere, pastoribusque rapta dividere, et cum his, crescente
in dies grege iuvenum, seria ac iocos celebrare.

5. Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludi- 1
crum ferunt, et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium, dein
Palatium montem appellatum. Ibi Euandrum, qui ex eo 2
genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca,
sollemne adlatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi iuvenes

8. nec in stabulis . . . saltus: *they did not pass their time lazily in the stables or with the flocks, but scoured the woods hunting.*

9. iam . . . subsistere: *they no longer lay in wait only for wild beasts.* This active use of *subsisto* seems to occur elsewhere only in 9, 31, 6. — **seria . . . celebrare**: *seria* refers to such things as have just been described; *iocos* anticipates the next chapter; *celebrare* means to do anything in a crowd.

5. 1. Palatio monte: the hill is usually called *mons Palatinus* or *Palatium*; *monte* must be taken as in app. with *Palatio*. — **Lupercal**: the cave on the western side of the Palatine sacred to Lupercus (*lupus-arceo*), who was identical with Faunus and Pan. Here, however, *Lupercal* is for *Lupercalia*, the festival of Lupercus, celebrated annually on the 15th of February, — a use of the word not found elsewhere. — **hoc**: *i.e.* the one still celebrated. Augustus enlarged and adorned the cave and restored the festival, which had fallen into disuse. — **ludicrum**: used elsewhere of public games or plays; nowhere else of a purely religious festival, but the use is justified by the nature of the festival (*lusum atque lasciviam*; cf. *iocos* at the end of the preceding chapter). — **Pallanteo**: Verg. *Aen.* 8, 54. The town was in the southeastern part of Arcadia. The real origin of the word *Palatium* is probably the root *pa*; cf. *pasco*, *pater*, *Pales*.

2. ex eo genere: the people living in Pallanteum and its neighborhood. *genus* = *gens*, as in 27, 48, 10. — **tempestatibus**: the length of time indicated by this word is quite indefinite; Dion. 1, 31 says sixty years before the Trojan War. — **sollemne**: *a regular festival*, with no idea of solemnity, as is shown by the fact that in § 1 it

Lycaeum Pana venerantes per lusum atque lasciviam cur-
3 rerent, quem Romani deinde vocaverunt Inuum. Huic deditis ludicro, cum sollemne notum esset, insidiatos ob iram praedae amissae latrones, cum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum regi Amulio tradidisse ultro accu-
4 santes. Crimini maxime dabant in Numitoris agros ab iis impetus fieri; inde eos collecta iuvenum manu hostilem in modum praedas agere. Sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur.
5 Iam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat regiam stirpem apud se educari; nam et expositos iussu regis infantes sciebat, et tempus quo ipse eos sustulisset ad id ipsum congruere; sed rem inmaturam nisi aut per occasionem aut
6 per necessitatem aperire noluerat. Necessitas prior venit; ita metu subactus Romulo rem aperit. Forte et Numitori,

is called *ludicrum*. — **Lycaeum**: Pan was worshiped especially at Mt. Lycaeus in southern Arcadia, and on account of his similar character (note also the derivation of the name Λυκαῖος from λύκος) was identified with the Roman Faunus Lupercus. Justin 43, 1, 7 *in* (*Palatii*) *radicibus templum Lycaeo, quem Graeci Pana, Romani Lupercum appellant, constituit; ipsum dei simulacrum nudum caprina pelle amictum est, quo habitu Romae nunc Lupercalibus decurritur*. This passage explains *nudi* in the text. — **lusum atque lasciviam**: for the alliteration see on *Praef.* 12.

3. **deditis**: dat. with *insidiatos*. — **ultro accusantes**: *going so far as to accuse him*; *ultro* commonly means *beyond what is expected*.

4. **fieri . . . agere**: an abrupt change of voice sometimes interrupts the usual smoothness of Livy's narrative; cf. 1, 4, 3; 3, 46, 5; 3, 49, 4. — **collecta . . . manu**: the phrase would have come more naturally in the preceding clause, as the band must have been collected before the attacks were made.

5. **iam inde ab initio**: see on 1, 2, 3. — **spes fuerat**: there is a similar use of *sperare* with the pres. inf. in the sense *to believe*, but only of a thing to be desired; see 5, 46, 3. — **ad . . . congruere**: a very rare construction; the dat. is regularly used with *congruere*; cf. 42, 17, 1.

6. **metu**: the fear that Remus might be punished by his own grandfather. — **Numitori**: not a

cum in custodia Remum haberet audissetque geminos esse fratres, conparando et aetatem eorum et ipsam minime servilem indolem, tetigerat animum memoria nepotum; sciscitandoque eodem pervenit, ut haud procul esset, quin Remum agnosceret. Ita undique regi dolus nectitur. Romulus non cum globo iuvenum — nec enim erat ad vim apertam par —, sed aliis alio itinere iussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus ad regem impetum facit, et a domo Numitoris alia conparata manu adiuvat Remus. Ita regem obtruncant. 7

6. Numitor inter primum tumultum hostis invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, cum pubem Albanam in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, postquam iuvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio scelus in se fratris, origi- 1

dat. of possession with *animum*, but a dat. of reference qualifying the whole sentence, a common construction in Livy. — **conparando**: such an abl. of the gerund is generally connected with the grammatical subject, as is *sciscitando* in the next sentence; here it is connected with the logical subject *Numitori*; cf. 9, 5, 11. — **eodem**: to the same conclusion as Faustulus. — **esset**: impersonal; cf. 9, 2, 3.

7. **iuvenum**: men of military age equipped for war. "In this and many other passages the notion of youth seems to have disappeared from the word *iuvenis*. It means simply a soldier. Those within the military age were *iuvenes*, in contrast with the *senes*, who were excused from service" (Seeley, on 1, 31, 5). — **ad . . . par**: a rare construction with *par*, but found in several other passages in Livy. — **ad regem**: *in* is the usual prep. with *impetum facere*.

6. 1. This sentence is a masterpiece of compact periodic structure; the succession of events is presented rapidly and chronologically, and monotony is avoided by a skillful variety of expression. — **pubem**: men of military age; cf. 1, 16, 2 and see on 1, 5, 7. — **avocasset**: *called them away*; they had been going to defend the palace, which, it appears, was not situated on the *arx*. On the pretext that the latter must be defended, Numitor caused the palace and Amulius to be left unpro-

nem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, cae-
2 dem deinceps tyranni seque eius auctorem ostendit. Iuvenes per mediam contionem agmine ingressi cum avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi efficit.

3 Ita Numitori Albana re permissa, Romulum Remumque cupido cepit in iis locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant, urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque; ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facile spem facerent parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium
4 prae ea urbe quae conderetur fore. Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupido, atque inde foe-

tected. — **deinceps**: equivalent to an adj. qualifying *caedem*; see on 1, 4, 4 *divinitus*, and cf. 6, 14, 6 *aliisque deinceps bellis*, and 22, 7, 11. — **auctorem**: *i.e.* he assumed the responsibility, because he had connived at the plot and Remus had gone from his house.

2. **contionem**: the *concilio* of § 1. — **agmine**: abl. of manner. In Verg. *Aen.* 2, 212 *agmine certo Laocoonta petunt*, the word refers to the straight course of the two serpents. *agmine ingressi* therefore may be translated *marching*. For a different use see 3, 50, 3. — **ratum . . . efficit**: see on *Praef.* 5.

3. **Albana re**: cf. 1, 3, 1 *res Latina*. — **supererat**: *was excessive*. — **ad id**: *in addition to this*; i.e. to the number of Albans and Latins. According to the earlier tradition Rome was founded by shepherds and refugees; Cic. *Orat.* 1, 37 *Romulus pastores et convenas congregasse* (cf. Livy 2, 1, 4). Livy here combines this with the later story of the colony from Alba. The legend of Romulus and Remus is rarely taken seriously nowadays. Rome may have been established as a commercial emporium for the Alban towns, or a settlement already existing may have developed and prospered contemporaneously with them, on account of its geographical advantages, without any regular colonization. 5, 54, 4 *non sine causa dii hominesque hunc urbi condendae locum elegerunt, saluberrimos colles, flumen opportunum, quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges devehantur, quo maritimi commeatus accipiantur, mare vicinum ad commoditates nec expositum nimia propinquitate ad pericula classium externarum, regionem Italiae mediam, ad incrementum urbis natum unice locum.*

dum certamen, coortum a satis miti principio. Quoniam gemini essent nec aetatis verecundia discrimen facere posset, ut dii, quorum tutelae ea loca essent, auguriis legerent, qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templa capiunt.

7. Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur, sex vultures, 1
iamque nuntiato augurio cum duplex numerus Romulo se
ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat;
tempore illi praecepto, at hi numero avium regnum trahebant. Inde cum altercatione congressi certamine irarum ad 2
caedem vertuntur; ibi in turba ictus Remus cecidit. Vulga-

4. **essent, posset**: the reason in the minds of Romulus and Remus; hence the subjunctive. — **dii**: according to 1, 12, 4 Jupiter alone was responsible for the omen. — **tutelae**: possessive genitive; cf. 21, 41, 12 and 24, 22, 15 *quae suae fidei tutelaeque essent*. The usual expression is *sub tutela*. — **auguriis**: Romulus was regarded as the founder of the Roman system of augury; Cic. *de Nat. D.* 3, 5 *mihique ita persuasi Romulum auspiciis, Numam sacris constitutis fundamenta iecisse nostrae civitatis*. — **qui** = *uter*; cf. 1, 24, 3. — **nomen**: Ennius (in Cic. *de Div.* 1, 107), *certabant, urbem Romam Remoramne vocarent*. — **inaugurandum**: *to ask for a sign*; usually, *to consecrate*. — **templa**: open spaces, regularly marked out for the observation of signs; in app. with *Palatium* and *Aventinum*.

7. 1. **priori**: see on *Praef.* 11 *serae*. — **Remo**: Livy sometimes uses the dat. with *venio*, emphasizing the idea of interest rather than the end of motion. — **augurium . . . augurio**: for the repetition see on *Praef.* 4 *originibus*. — **utrumque . . . consalutaverat**: cf. 1, 25, 1 *cum sui utrosque adhortarentur*; 21, 29, 5. The plup. is used because the writer is looking forward to the next incident (*inde . . . vertuntur*), which occurred when the act denoted by *consalutaverat* was complete. — **tempore . . . praecepto**: *on account of priority of time*; cf. 30, 8, 9 *aliquantum ad fugam temporis . . . praeceperunt*. — **trahebant**: sc. *ad se*; *they claimed*; cf. 9, 18, 16.

2. **irarum**: the plural suggests the anger of the individuals in the crowd; cf. 9, 1, 3 and see Lane, 1109. — **vulgatior . . . muros**:

tior fama est ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo, cum verbis quoque increpitans adiecisset "sic deinde quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea," interfectum. Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; 753 B.C. condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata.

The Deification of Romulus

16. His inmortalibus editis operibus, cum ad exercitum 716 B.C. recensendum contionem in campo ad Caprae paludem haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo, ut conspectum eius contioni abstulerit; nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuam se-

according to the common story, therefore, Remus was not killed until the walls had been built by Romulus, who in accordance with the omen was laying the foundation of the city. The story is told by Ov. *Fast.* 4, 841–852, who, however, says that Remus was killed by Celer. — **ludibrio**: dat. of purpose. For the gen. *fratris* see on 9, 11, 12. — **sic deinde**: the verb is to be supplied from *interfectum*.

3. **conditoris nomine**: this derivation is no longer accepted, nor is that from ῥώμη. The word has been connected with *ruma* (see on 1, 4, 5), with *Rumon*, said to have been an earlier name of the Tiber, both of these being derived from the root meaning *to flow* (Gr. ῥέω), and with *Ramnes*; but the derivation remains absolutely uncertain.

16. References: Dion. Hal. 2, 56. Plut. *Rom.* 27 f. Ov. *Fast.* 2, 481 ff.; *Met.* 14, 805 ff.

16. 1. **his . . . operibus**: the omitted chapters give the history of the reign of Romulus. — **inmortalibus**: 1, 7, 15 *iam tum inmortalitatis virtute partae, ad quam eum sua fata ducebant, fautor.* — **campo** = *Campo Martio.* — **Caprae paludem**: in the locality where the Circus of Flaminius was afterward built. — **tempestas**; Cic. *Rep.* 1, 25 says that Romulus disappeared during an eclipse of the sun. — **contioni**: see on 1, 1, 1 *duobus.* — **abstulerit**: for the tense see on 1, 3, 4 *ausi sint.*

2. **pubes**: see on 1, 6, 1. — **ex**

dem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebat patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem raptum procella, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta maestum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde 3
paucis initio facto deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae, salvere universi Romulum iubent; pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem. Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos, qui discerp- 4
tum regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent — manavit enim haec quoque sed perobscura fama —; illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor praesens nobilitavit. Et consilio 5
etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides. Namque Proculus Iulius, sollicita civitate desiderio regis et infensa patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor in contionem

. . . **die**: for this use of *ex* cf. 22, 49, 11 *e consulatu*, and for the similar use of *ab* see on 1, 1, 4; Verg. *Georg.* 1, 393 *ex imbri soles et aperta serena*. — **sublimem**: cf. § 7 and see on *Praef.* 11 *serae*; the adv. *sublime* is used in 21, 30, 8. — **orbitatis**: properly used with reference to Romulus, who in § 3 is called *parens urbis*. — **obtinuit**: cf. the intrans. use in 21, 46, 10.

3. **deum**: it was long afterward that the deified Romulus was identified with the Sabine war-god Quirinus and worshiped under that name. — **salvere iubent**: *they hailed him*. — **pacem . . . progeniem**: the alliteration is intentional, — a characteristic of the language of ritual. The asyndeton in *volens propitius* and the archaic *sospito* also indicate that this is an ancient formula. — **pacem**: *favor*; a sense similar to that in the common phrase, *pace* with a poss. pron. or gen. case, *e.g. pace tua dixerim*; cf. 7, 2, 2. — **precibus**: the abl. of manner without an attribute usually has *cum*.

4. **discerptum**: a later story, originating in the hatred of plebeians for patricians. — **illam alteram**: *the former story*.

5. **et**: connecting this sentence with the preceding; *etiam* emphasizes *consilio . . . hominis*. — **Proculus**: in early times a *praenomen*; later, a *cognomen*. — **Iulius**: the Julian family, according to this passage, was established in Rome from the very foundation of the city; cf. 1, 3, 2. For a different version of this story see Cic. *Rep.* 2, 20. — **gravis . . . auctor**: *an authority of weight on any matter, however great*.

6 prodit. "Romulus" inquit, "Quirites, parens urbis huius, prima hodierna luce caelo repente delapsus se mihi obvium dedit. Cum perfusus horrore venerabundus adstitissem, 7 petens precibus, ut contra intueri fas esset, 'abi, nuntia' inquit, 'Romanis, caelestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit; proinde rem militarem colant, sciantque et ita posteris tradant nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.' Haec" inquit "locutus sublimis abiit." 8 Mirum quantum illi viro nuntianti haec fides fuerit, quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque facta fide inmortalitatis lenitum sit.

6. **Quirites**: Livy gives in 1, 13, 5 what was in antiquity the generally accepted etymology of the word, — *ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliquid daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati; i.e.* he derives it from the name of the town Cures. Mommsen derives it from *quiris* or *curis*, a spear, and the root of *ire*, comparing *Iuno quiritis*, (*Mars*) *quirinus*, and *Ianus quirinus*, where the epithet characterizes the divinities as spear-bearers. — **huius**: for the unusual position cf. 22, 46, 5. — **horrore**: *awe.* — **contra**: *face to face;* cf. 9, 6, 8.

7. **velle ut**: in no other place does Livy use *ut* and the subjunctive with *velle;* elsewhere he has the subjunctive without *ut*, the infinitive, or accusative and infinitive. Plutarch and Dionysius add to this speech of Romulus, ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν εὐμενὴς ἔσομαι δαίμων Κυρῖνος. — **mea**: note the emphasis given by the position before its noun.

8. **quantum**: *to what extent;* adv. acc. with *fides fuerit.* — **fuerit**: ind. quest. introduced by *mirum* (*est*). Ordinarily, *mirum quantum* is used adverbially, with no effect on the mood of the verb; *e.g.* 2, 1, 11. Cf. the use of *nescio quid* and the Gr. θαυμαστὸν ὅσον; also Hor. *Od.* 1, 27, 6 *inimane quantum.*

Chapters 17–23 contain an account of the interregnum following the death of Romulus, the election and reign of Numa Pompilius, and the beginning of the reign of Tullus Hostilius, of which the traditional dates were 672–640. While he was king, war was declared between the Romans and the Albans, but before they came to a battle, it was decided to settle the dispute in the manner described in the following chapters.

Fight of the Horatii and the Curiatii. Treachery of Mettius Fufetius. Destruction of Alba.

24. Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemini fra- 1
tres nec aetate nec viribus dispares. Horatios Curiatiosque
fuisse satis constat, nec ferme res antiqua alia est nobilior;
tamen in re tam clara nominum error manet, utrius populi
Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint. Auctores utroque trahunt;
plures tamen invenio qui Romanos Horatios vocent; hos
ut sequar, inclinat animus. Cum trigeminis agunt reges, ut 2
pro sua quisque patria dimicent ferro: ibi imperium fore,
unde victoria fuerit. Nihil recusatur; tempus et locus con-
venit. Priusquam dimicarent, foedus ictum inter Romanos 3
et Albanos est his legibus, ut, cuius populi cives eo certa-
mine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret.

* * * * * * *

25. Foedere icto, trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma ca- 1
piunt. Cum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos patrios, patriam
ac parentes, quicquid civium domi, quicquid in exercitu sit,
illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus, feroces et suopte

24–29. Reference: Dion. Hal. 3, 1–32.

24. 1. **trigemini**: the word has here a distributive force. — **nec ferme alia**: *almost no other*. — **nobilior**: for the meaning cf. 9, 1, 1 and 1, 16, 4 *nobilitavit*. — **error**: *uncertainty*, as in 40, 55, 4. — **utroque**: cf. 2, 30, 1. — **trahunt**: sc. *rem* and cf. 1, 7, 1. — **plures**: on some points where there was no real evidence or basis of probability, Livy had to content himself with the view of a majority of the earlier writers.

2. **unde**: cf. 7, 29, 6 and 27, 45, 8 *matura ex hostibus victoria esset*. The Latin often prefers to emphasize the source of an action or impression, the place *from which* it proceeds, where the English would indicate the place *in which* it occurs; cf. 22, 4, 4 *ex adverso*.

3. **foedus ictum**: see on 9, 4, 5. — **cuius**: see on 1, 6, 4 *qui*.

25. 1. **sui utrosque**: cf. 1, 7, 1. — **adhortarentur**: introducing indirect discourse. — **arma, manus**: objects of *intueri, to watch*; cf.

ingenio et pleni adhortantium vocibus in medium inter duas
2 acies procedunt. Consederant utrimque pro castris duo exercitus periculi magis praesentis quam curae expertes; quippe imperium agebatur in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minime
3 gratum spectaculum animos intendunt. Datur signum, infestisque armis, velut acies, terni iuvenes magnorum exercituum animos gerentes concurrunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo futuraque ea deinde patriae fortuna, quam
4 ipsi fecissent. Vt primo statim concursu concrepuere arma micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantis perstringit, et neutro inclinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque.
5 Consertis deinde manibus, cum iam non motus tantum corporum agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque sed vulnera quoque et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani, super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis expirantes conruerunt.

5, 42, 8; 21, 41, 16. — **et . . . et**: correlatives, both phrases being explanatory of *feroces*; the second, however, does not qualify it grammatically, *vocibus* depending upon *pleni*.

2. **quippe**: *for in fact*; explanatory of the preceding statement. — **itaque ergo**: pleonastic; *for that very reason*; see on 5, 37, 6. — **animos intendunt**: cf. *Praef.* 9.

3. **animos**: *courage*; with the idea that the courage of the armies which they represented was concentrated in these six young men. The plural is used in this sense even of a single person; *e.g.* 2, 27, 12; 3, 49, 5. — **his, illis**: see on 1, 5, 6 *Numitori*. — **periculum . . . imperium**: chiasmus and adversative asyndeton.

4. **arma**: sometimes used by Livy in its original meaning, *defensive armor*, as in the next section; here he has in mind especially the shields, as in 1, 37, 2 *fluitantia arma . . . in Tiberi*. — **torpebat . . . spiritus**: *they remained silent with bated breath*.

5. **anceps**: not *on both sides*, but *doubtful*; *i.e.* not only was there a confusion of blows, of which the result was doubtful, but actual wounds and blood were

Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones iam spes tota, nondum tamen cura deseruerat, exanimes vice unius, quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo, ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capessit fugam, ita ratus secuturos, ut quemque vulnere adfectum corpus sineret. Iam aliquantum spati ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum est, aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes, unum haud procul ab sese abesse. In eum magno impetu rediit; et dum Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatios, uti opem ferant fratri, iam Horatius, caeso hoste, victor secundam pugnam petebat. Tunc clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet, Romani adiuvant militem suum, et ille defungi proelio festinat. Prius itaque quam alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit. Iamque aequato Marte, singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares.

6 7 8 9 10 11

to be seen. — **alium alius**: for *alterum alter*; cf. 9, 2, 8.

6. **ad**: *at*; commonly used thus to indicate the occasion of an act, expressing both time and cause; cf. 9, 7, 7. — **deseruerat**: for the tense see on 1, 7, 1 *consalutaverat*. — **vice**: *as to the fate*; the more common phrase appears in 2, 31, 11 *suam vicem*.

7. **ut . . . sic**: *though . . . yet*. — **ferox**: *confident*. — **secuturos**: the omission of the subject is colloquial. — **corpus**: subject of *sineret*.

8. **pugnatum est**: for the tense see on 1, 1, 1 *fuerunt*. — **videt**: with two constructions, acc. object and ind. disc., the former expressing a condition, the latter a fact.

9. **qualis . . . solet**: cf. 1, 29, 2; 22, 49, 4. — **ex insperato**: this substantive use of the abl. sing. neuter of an adj. in prepositional phrases is very common in Livy; these phrases regularly have an adverbial force, as here, but see on *Praef.* 3 *in obscuro*. — **solet**: sc. *esse*.

10. **alter**: the third; though the word is correctly used, as only two remained. *alterum*, however, is used with reference to the first. — **nec** = *non*; this use is archaic, but is not uncommon in classical Latin; cf. 3, 52, 9.

Alterum intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria ferocem in certamen tertium dabat; alter fessum vulnere, fessum cursu trahens corpus, victusque fratrum ante se strage victori obicitur hosti. Nec illud proelium fuit. Romanus exultans "duos" inquit "fratrum Manibus dedi; tertium causae belli huiusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo." Male sustinenti arma gladium superne iugulo defigit; iacentem spoliat. Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt eo maiore cum gaudio, quod prope metum res fuerat. Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur, quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri dicionis alienae facti. Sepulcra extant quo quisque loco cecidit, duo Romana uno loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus, sed distantia locis, ut et pugnatum est.

* * * * * * *

27. Nec diu pax Albana mansit. Invidia vulgi, quod tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa fuerat, vanum ingenium dictatoris corrupit, et, quoniam recta consilia

11. **ferocem**: see on § 7. — **dabat**: with two subjects, *intactum . . . corpus* and *geminata victoria*; for the meaning of the verb cf. 30, 30, 19 and see on 1, 4, 7 *uxori*. — **ante se**: *before his eyes*; the phrase is used attributively as in 30, 30, 1.

12. **fratrum**: sc. *meorum*. — **Manibus dedi**: cf. 22, 6, 4. — **causae**: the desire for supremacy. — **male**: *scarcely*. — **iugulo**: the omission of the prep. with *defigere* is very unusual; but it is characteristic of Livy to omit the prep. with the locative ablative.

13. **prope metum**: cf. 6, 42, 10. — **dicionis . . . facti**: cf. 7, 31, 6.

14. **Romam vĕrsus**: because the surviving Horatius had fled toward Rome. The so-called *campus sacer Horatiorum* was just outside the Porta Capena; here was the tomb of the sister of Horatius, who was slain by her brother, when she met him returning to the city and upbraided him for having killed the Curiatii, to one of whom she had been betrothed.

27. 1. **nec**: *but not*; cf. 1, 28, 6. — **conmissa fuerat**: see on 1, 2, 1. — **dictatoris**: Mettius Fufetius, whom the Albans had recently appointed dictator on the death of

haud bene evenerant, pravis reconciliare popularium animos coepit. Igitur ut prius in bello pacem, sic in pace bellum quaerens, quia suae civitati animorum plus quam virium cernebat esse, ad bellum palam atque ex edicto gerundum alios concitat populos, suis per speciem societatis proditionem reservat. Fidenates, colonia Romana, Veientibus sociis consili adsumptis, pacto transitionis Albanorum ad bellum atque arma incitantur. Cum Fidenae aperte descissent, Tullus, Mettio exercituque eius ab Alba accito, contra hostes ducit. Ubi Anienem transiit, ad confluentis conlocat castra. Inter eum locum et Fidenas Veientium exercitus Tiberim transierat. Hi in acie prope flumen tenuere dextrum cornu; in sinistro Fidenates propius montes consistunt. Tullus adversus Veientem hostem derigit suos;

their king, Cluilius. — **pravis**: instrumental ablative.

2. **ex edicto**: *after a proclamation*; see on 1, 25, 9 *ex insperato* and cf. 1, 28, 3 *ex composito*. — **gerundum**: *-undus* instead of *-endus* as a gerundive ending is found in classical Latin chiefly in legal phrases or in long-established formulae; the origin of the forms and the relation of one to the other have never been determined. — **suis**: after *alios populos*, *suo* would have been more natural. — **societatis**: with the Romans; *socii* is used even of subject peoples; cf. 1, 28, 4.

3. **Fidenates**: Fidenae was an Etruscan town about five miles north of Rome, on the east bank of the Tiber. In chap. 14 Livy describes the conquest of the town, but does not mention the fact that a colony was sent there. — **Veientibus**: Veii was in southern Etruria, about seven miles north of Rome. — **pacto . . . Albanorum**: *on the understanding that the Albans would desert to them.*

4. **Tullus**: Tullus Hostilius. — **ab Alba**: Livy regularly, but not always, uses the prep. with names of towns denoting the place from which motion proceeds, — a usage rare in other writers; see on 25, 31, 3 *ab domo*. — **Anienem**: the Anio flows into the Tiber about three miles north of Rome and two miles south of Fidenae. — **confluentis**: a noun, used in singular and plural, indicating a place where two rivers meet, — here the Tiber and the Anio; cf. Caes. *B. G.* 4, 15 *ad confluentem Mosae et Rheni*.

Albanos contra legionem Fidenatium conlocat. Albano non plus animi erat quam fidei. Nec manere ergo nec
6 transire aperte ausus, sensim ad montes succedit. Inde, ubi satis subisse sese ratus est, erigit totam aciem, fluctuansque animo, ut tereret tempus, ordines explicat. Consi-
7 lium erat, qua fortuna rem daret, ea inclinare vires. Miraculo primo esse Romanis, qui proximi steterant, ut nudari latera sua sociorum digressu senserunt; inde eques citato equo nuntiat regi, abire Albanos. Tullus (in re trepida) duode-
8 cim vovit Salios fanaque Pallori ac Pavori. Equitem clara increpans voce, ut hostes exaudirent, redire in proelium iubet: nihil trepidatione opus esse; suo iussu circumduci Albanum exercitum, ut Fidenatium nuda terga invadant.
9 Item imperat, ut hastas equites erigerent. Id factum magnae parti peditum Romanorum conspectum abeuntis Albani exercitus intersaepsit; qui viderant, id quod ab rege audi-

5. **legionem**: *army*; cf. 1, 28, 3.

6. **subisse**: cf. 1, 28, 5 *subiere ad montes*. — **erigit**: *led up hill*; cf. 21, 32, 8 *erigentibus in primos agmen clivos*; 27, 48, 12 *signa erigere*. It is difficult to explain satisfactorily the clause *ubi . . . ratus est*, unless it is an awkward way of saying, *when he thought he had withdrawn far enough*. — **explicat**: *deployed*. — **rem**: *success*.

7. **esse**: historical infinitive. — **in re trepida**: cf. 5, 36, 2; 26, 9, 4. — **Salios**: there were two *collegia* of Salii, — those of Mars, instituted by Numa, with their seat on the Palatine, and those here mentioned, established by Tullus Hostilius for the worship of Quirinus, with their headquarters on the Quirinal. Servius, *ad Aen.* 8, 285, misunderstanding this passage, says that this *collegium* was instituted for the worship of Pallor and Pavor, but these words are to be taken only with *fana*, not with *Salios*.

8. **equitem**: to be taken with *increpans* and *iubet*. — **invadant . . . erigerent**: Livy often varies his subordinate tenses in this way, using now the imperfect required by the sequence, now the present to emphasize the fact; sometimes the change is made apparently to avoid monotony.

9. **id . . . rati**: sc. *esse*; *believing the thing to be true*; cf. 1, 4, 2 *seu ita rata*; 6, 3, 5 *id quod rebatur*. — **ab rege**: *from the king*.

tum erat rati, eo acrius pugnant. Terror ad hostes transit; et audiverant clara voce dictum et magna pars Fidenatium, ut qui coloni additi Romanis essent, Latine sciebant. Ita- 10
que, ne subito ex collibus decursu Albanorum intercluderentur ab oppido, terga vertunt. Instat Tullus fusoque Fidenatium cornu in Veientem alieno pavore perculsum ferocior redit. Nec illi tulere impetum, sed ab effusa fuga flumen obiectum ab tergo arcebat. Quo postquam fuga in- 11
clinavit, alii arma foede iactantes in aquam caeci ruebant, alii, dum cunctantur in ripis, inter fugae pugnaeque consilium oppressi. Non alia ante Romana pugna atrocior fuit.

28. Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deduc- 1
tus in campos. Mettius Tullo devictos hostes gratulatur; contra Tullus Mettium benigne adloquitur. Quod bene vertat, castra Albanos Romanis castris iungere iubet; sac-

— **ut . . . essent**: for an explanation cf. 8, 14, 8 *Antium nova colonia missa cum eo, ut Antiatibus permitteretur, si et ipsi adscribi coloni vellent*. It appears that when the Roman colony was sent to Fidenae, some members of the original population were enrolled as colonists. It is hardly probable, however, that they had adopted or even learned the language of their conquerors. — **essent**: see on 1, 1, 5 *superessent*.

10. **Veientem**: the Veientines collectively; cf. 1, 25, 12 *ut Romanus Albano imperet*. — **alieno**: that of the Fidenates. — **flumen . . . arcebat**: the Romans, returning from the pursuit of the Fidenates, attacked the Veientines on their left flank, and they, facing east to meet the attack, had the river behind them.

11. **inclinavit**: cf. the transitive use in § 6. — **in ripis**: *here and there on the bank*; cf. 4, 33, 11 *obtruncantur in ripis*. In 2, 11, 1, however, *ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra posuit*, the plural appears to have the meaning of the singular. — This is apparently the end of the war. Livy, at least, says no more about it. Indeed, in 1, 30, 7 *valuitque apud Veientes . . . pacta cum Romulo indutiarum fides*, he speaks as if it had not occurred, or, at any rate, as if the Veientines had not participated in it.

28. 1. **vertat**: Livy generally uses the imperf. subj. in a clause denoting incomplete action, de-

2 rificium lustrale in diem posterum parat. Vbi inluxit, paratis omnibus, ut adsolet, vocari ad contionem utrumque exercitum iubet. Praecones ab extremo orsi primos excivere Albanos. Ii novitate etiam rei moti, ut regem Romanum
3 contionantem audirent, proximi constitere. Ex conposito armata circumdatur Romana legio. Centurionibus datum
4 negotium erat, ut sine mora imperia exsequerentur. Tum ita Tullus infit: "Romani, si umquam ante alias ullo in bello fuit, quod primum dis inmortalibus gratias ageretis, deinde vestrae ipsorum virtuti, hesternum id proelium fuit. Dimicatum est enim non magis cum hostibus quam, quae dimicatio maior atque periculosior est, cum proditione ac
5 perfidia sociorum. Nam, ne vos falsa opinio teneat, iniussu

pendent upon a historical present; here, in this stereotyped phrase, the original pres. subj. of the wish is retained. So in 3, 62, 5, and also in 3, 35, 8, where it depends upon a perfect tense; in 7, 39, 13, on the other hand, he uses *verteret* depending upon a perfect tense. Cf. 3, 52, 10 *videatur*. *vertat* is intransitive, *to turn out*. — **castra . . . castris**: note the artificial arrangement, by which the effect of chiasmus is secured. — **lustrale**: first used in prose by Livy; see on 24, 34, 9 *cubitalibus*.

2. **ut adsolet**: used commonly by Livy of religious observances; but cf. 40, 54, 8 (where, however, the reading is doubtful). — **ab extremo**: of the camp. — **etiam**: interested *also* by the novelty of the thing; a second reason for their position near the king, added to the fact that they were first summoned.

3. **ex conposito**: see on 1, 25, 9 *ex insperato*. — **circumdatur**: *was drawn up in a circle*, inclosing the Albans; cf. 21, 42, 1. — **legio**: see on 1, 27, 5.

4. **Romani**: the fact that he is addressing only the Romans is emphasized by the position of *Romani* at the very beginning; usually it is inserted after one or more words. — **umquam . . . ullo**: there is a similar succession of adverbs in 32, 5, 8 *si quando umquam ante alias*; see also 6, 42, 12. — **fuit, quod**: *there was reason why*; Lane, 1841. — **vestrae ipsorum**: cf. 30, 20, 7 *suum ipsius*.

5. **teneat**: used loosely in a parenthetical clause, as though dependent upon some verb unex-

meo Albani subiere ad montes, nec imperium illud meum sed consilium et imperi simulatio fuit, ut nec vobis, ignorantibus deseri vos, averteretur a certamine animus, et hostibus, circumveniri se ab tergo ratis, terror ac fuga iniceretur. Nec ea culpa quam arguo omnium Albanorum est; ducem 6 secuti sunt, ut et vos, si quo ego inde agmen declinare voluissem, fecissetis. Mettius ille est ductor itineris huius, Mettius idem huius machinator belli, Mettius foederis Romani Albanique ruptor. Audeat deinde talia alius, nisi in hunc insigne iam documentum mortalibus dedero." Centu- 7 riones armati Mettium circumsistunt. Rex cetera, ut orsus erat, peragit: "Quod bonum faustum felixque sit populo Romano ac mihi vobisque Albani, populum omnem Albanum Romam traducere in animo est, civitatem dare plebi, primores in patres legere, unam urbem, unam rem publicam facere. Vt ex uno quondam in duos populos divisa Albana res est, sic nunc in unum redeat." Ad haec Albana pubes 8 inermis ab armatis saepta, in variis voluntatibus, communi tamen metu cogente, silentium tenet. Tum Tullus "Metti 9

pressed, as *hoc dico* or *audite*. — **illud**: subject of *fuit*, to be taken in two senses; with the pred. nom. *imperium* it means *the withdrawal of the Albans*; with *consilium . . . simulatio*, *what I said when they withdrew*. — **consilium**: *device*; cf. 1, 16, 5. — **ut nec**: *nec* (= *et non*) is correlative with *et*, and the first clause is one of negative, the second of affirmative, purpose. — **vobis**: see on 1, 5, 6 *Numitori*. — **fuga**: see on 21, 29, 3.

6. **nec**: see on 1, 27, 1. — **ductor . . . ruptor**: note the position of the three verbal nouns; first before the dependent genitive phrase, then in the middle, finally after it. — **audeat**: subjunctive of wish. — **mortalibus**: Livy constantly uses *mortales* as an equivalent of *homines*.

7. **populum**: including *plebs* and *primores*. — **patres**: *the senate*. — **urbem**: *the city*; **rem publicam**: *the body politic*.

8. **pubes**: see on 1, 6, 1. — **silentium tenet**: cf. the intrans. use of the phrase in 3, 47, 6 and see 1, 16, 2 *silentium obtinuit*.

Fufeti" inquit, "si ipse discere posses fidem ac foedera servare, vivo tibi ea disciplina a me adhibita esset; nunc, quoniam tuum insanabile ingenium est, at tu tuo supplicio doce humanum genus ea sancta credere, quae a te violata sunt. Vt igitur paulo ante animum inter Fidenatem Romanamque rem ancipitem gessisti, ita iam corpus passim
10 distrahendum dabis." Exinde duabus admotis quadrigis in currus earum distentum inligat Mettium, deinde in diversum iter equi concitati, lacerum in utroque curru corpus, qua
11 inhaeserant vinculis membra, portantes. Avertere omnes ab tanta foeditate spectaculi oculos. Primum ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit; in aliis gloriari licet nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas.

1 29. Inter haec iam praemissi Albam erant equites, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductae

9. **fidem ac foedera**: for the alliteration see on *Praef.* 12. — **vivo**: note the position, which makes it the emphatic word of the sentence; *I should have let you live after giving you that lesson, i.e.* one which would have accomplished the result just indicated in *discere . . . servare.* — **nunc**: *as it is;* frequently used after a non-occurrent supposition, introducing a statement of the existing circumstances; cf. 7, 30, 3. — **at**: *at least;* in clauses of this sort Livy likes to use the personal pronoun following *at*, even where the personal element does not need this emphasis; cf. 9, 1, 8. — **passim**: here of only two directions, corresponding to *ancipitem.*

10. **duabus . . . earum**: *in currus duarum admotarum quadrigarum* would have been more in accord with Latin usage. For various reasons Livy often uses an abl. abs. under these circumstances; here he has at least avoided the disagreeable succession of *-arum* endings. Cf. 39, 40, 7 *cuius . . . vivo eo.* — **concitati**: sc. *sunt.* — **portantes**: proleptic, giving the result of *concitati* (*sunt*).

11. **exempli**: see on *Praef.* 10 and cf. 3, 44, 2. — **humanarum**: *humane, the laws of humanity;* cf. 5, 40. 4.

29. The graphic description of this chapter is one of the finest things in ancient literature. It is

ad diruendam urbem. Quae ubi intravere portas, non qui- 2
dem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor, qualis captarum esse ur-
bium solet, cum effractis portis stratisve arietе muris aut
arce vi captа clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum
omnia ferro flammaque miscet; sed silentium triste ac 3
tacita maestitia ita defixit omnium animos, ut prae metu
[obliti], quid relinquerent, quid secum ferrent, deficiente
consilio rogitantesque alii alios nunc in liminibus starent,
nunc errabundi domos suas ultimum illud visuri pervaga-
rentur. Vt vero iam equitum clamor exire iubentium 4
instabat, iam fragor tectorum quae diruebantur ultimis

the ability to write passages of this sort which distinguishes the intelligent and appreciative historian from the mechanical and uninteresting annalist. The silent despair of the Albans (expressed in all its intensity by *silentium triste ac tacita maestitia*), as they wandered about looking upon their homes for the last time, the distant noise of falling houses, the arrival of the hostile cavalry, and finally the sad procession, — it is all told with simplicity, but with a suggestiveness which stirs the imagination and makes a distinct impression upon the mind.

2. **qualis . . . solet**: cf. 1, 25, 9 and, for the thought, 25, 31, 9. — **clamor hostilis et cursus . . . armatorum** = *clamantes hostes et currentes armati*; the reading of the text, however, emphasizes the act rather than the actor; cf. § 4 *equitum clamor*; so in 1, 13, 2 *dirimere iras* (= *iratos*).

3. **silentium . . . maestitia**: there is no difference between the two ideas, except that in the former *silence* is emphasized, in the latter *sadness*. — **prae**: *propter*; but in classical Latin in this sense it is always used of a preventive cause. Its proper force may sometimes be retained by translating *in view of* or *in face of*. — **obliti**: the difficulty of explaining the word in its proper sense makes it probable that it is an interpolation; the following indirect questions would thus depend upon *deficiente consilio* and *rogitantes*. This practical detail adds much to the reality of the picture. — **rogitantes**: a frequentative almost unknown outside of Plautus and Terence, but here very effective. — **domos**: the object of *visuri* and *pervagarentur*; cf. 1, 27, 8 *equitem*. — **ultimum illud**: connect with *visuri*; *to look that last sad look*.

4. **ut**: the force of this word

urbis partibus audiebatur, pulvisque ex distantibus locis ortus velut nube inducta omnia inpleverat, raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis, cum larem ac penates tectaque, in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset, relinquentes
5 exirent, iam continens agmen migrantium inpleverat vias, et conspectus aliorum mutua miseratione integrabat lacrimas, vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur mulierum praecipue, cum obsessa ab armatis templa augusta praeteri-
6 rent ac velut captos relinquerent deos. Egressis urbe Albanis Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adaequat solo, unaque hora quadringentorum annorum opus, quibus Alba steterat, excidio ac ruinis dedit; templis tamen deum — ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat — temperatum est.

continues through the first *inpleverat*. — **quibus**: this would naturally be the acc. as object of *efferre* to be supplied, but is attracted into the case of its antecedent *eis*; cf. 4, 39, 9 *quibus poterat sauciis ductis secum*. — **larem**: the *lar familiaris*; in the time of Augustus the plural conception began to supplant the singular.

5. **mulierum**: in describing such scenes Livy always emphasizes the grief of the women; cf. 5, 40, 3; 22, 7, 11 ff.; 26, 9, 7.

6. **Romanus**: the Roman army; cf. 1, 27, 10 *Veientem*. — **quadringentorum**: *i.e.* according to Livy, as well as Vergil (*Aen.* 1, 272), Alba was founded 300 years before Rome, as, according to the tradition, Rome had now been in existence about 100 years. Dion. Hal. says that Alba flourished for 487 years. — **quibus**: abl. of duration of time; cf. 21, 4, 10. — **templis**: dative, as in 2, 23, 9 and 30, 20, 1. The town was never rebuilt.

BOOK II

Beginning of the Republic

1. Liberi iam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque 1
gestas, annuos magistratus imperiaque legum potentiora 509 B.C.
quam hominum peragam. Quae libertas ut laetior esset, 2
proximi regis superbia fecerat. Nam priores ita regnarunt,
ut haud inmerito omnes deinceps conditores partium certe
urbis, quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctae multitudinis
addiderunt, numerentur. Neque ambigitur, quin Brutus 3
idem, qui tantum gloriae Superbo exacto rege meruit, pes-
simo publico id facturus fuerit, si libertatis inmaturae cupi-
dine priorum regum alicui regnum extorsisset. Quid enim 4
futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, trans-

Book II. **1. 1. liberi**: the position of this word calls attention at once to the period about to be described, — that of the free republic, as opposed to the subject of the first book, the regal period. — **iam hinc**: *from this time on, henceforth*, qualifying *liberi*, though its meaning is felt also with *peragam*; used in the same way in 7, 29, 1.

2. proximi regis: Tarquinius Superbus. — **partium**: Tullus Hostilius added the Coelian, Ancus Martius the Aventine, Servius Tullius the Quirinal, Viminal, and a part of the Esquiline not before included. — **numerentur**: "The main and subordinate sentences may express wholly different spheres of time by tenses not commonly used together, when the thought requires it;" Lane, 1744; see also 1757.

3. pessimo publico: *with the greatest injury to the state*; a superlative of *malum publicum*, the first adj. serving as a substantive. — **facturus fuerit**: this represents *facturus fuit* (cf. *futurum fuit* in § 4), the subjunctive being due to the fact that the clause is introduced by *quin*; cf. 26, 13, 3; 40, 56, 7. Lane, 2100, 1986. — **alicui**: see on 1, 1, 1 *duobus*.

4. convenarum: Livy is thinking of the rabble which found refuge in the asylum (*templum*) of Romulus on the Capitoline. — **transfuga**: in app. with *plebs*, though it should logically be applied only to *convenarum*, not to the *pastores*, who formed a part of the original settlement; see 1, 6, 3. That Livy is thinking only of the former is shown by *aliena* below. The verbal element in *transfuga* is sufficient to justify the following

fuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inviolati templi aut libertatem aut certe inpunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu, agitari coepta esset tribuniciis procellis et in aliena urbe cum patribus serere certamina, priusquam pignera coniugum ac liberorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore adsuescitur, animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatae res nondum adultae discordia forent, quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperi eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis iam viribus ferre possent. Libertatis autem originem inde magis, quia annuum imperium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate, numeres. Omnia iura, omnia insignia primi consules tenuere; id modo cautum est, ne, si ambo fasces

preposition. — **inviolati**: *inviolable*; see on 24, 34, 9 *intacti*. — **libertatem**: some of the *convenae* had been slaves. — **inpunitatem**: for former crimes. — **regio** = an objective genitive, *regis*. — **coepta esset**: the pass. form is properly used with the pass. inf. *agitari*, but from it an act. form must be supplied with *serere*.

5. **cui adsuescitur**: *for which an attachment is formed*; the verb is impersonal. Livy uses the dat. regularly with *adsuesco*; there is only one certain instance of the abl., 31, 35, 3.

6. **adultae**: the metaphor is continued in *fovit*, *nutriendo*, *frugem ferre*. — **iam**: qualifying *maturis*; see on § 1 *iam hinc*.

7. **annuum**: the emphatic word of the clause. — **deminutum sit**: this second clause giving the incorrect reason is like one introduced by *non quod*; hence the subjunctive; Lane, 1855. Livy disregards the fact that the consular power was restricted not only by brief tenure, but also by the fact that either consul could veto the decision of the other, and by the right of appeal established by the Valerian Law.

8. **iura, insignia**: of the kings. The king wore a purple toga, sat on an ivory throne, and was preceded by twelve lictors, each bearing the *fasces*. Later, the consuls wore a white toga with a purple border (*toga praetexta*). They retained the twelve lictors with the *fasces*, but within the city the axes were removed. — **primi**: later, the consular power was limited by the creation of new offices with special functions. — **collega**: L. Tarquinius Collatinus. — **fasces**: a bundle of rods inclosing an ax

haberent, duplicatus terror videretur. Brutus prior, concedente collega, fasces habuit, qui non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat, quam deinde custos fuit. Omnium primum avidum 9
novae libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis posset, iure iurando adegit neminem Romae passuros regnare. Deinde, quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, caedibus regis deminutum 10
patrum numerum primoribus equestris gradus lectis ad trecentorum summam explevit; traditumque inde fertur, ut 11
in senatum vocarentur qui patres quique conscripti essent; conscriptos videlicet novum in senatum appellabant lectos. Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam civitatis iungendosque patribus plebis animos.

with the head protruding, — the emblem of the king's absolute authority. It became the custom for the consuls, when both were in the city, to perform the duties and assume the insignia in alternate months; cf. 3, 36, 3 and see on 9, 8, 1.

9. **postmodum**: a rare adv. found only four times in Livy; *postmodo* is used frequently. Neither is found in Cicero or Caesar. — **iure iurando**: they took the oath individually for themselves and their posterity, and although nearly five centuries later the state again came into the power of a single ruler, the forms of republican government were maintained and the name of king never ceased to be hateful. — **passuros**: sc. *se;* the plural represents the collective noun *populum*.

10. **frequentia**: better regarded as nominative. — **etiam**: *i.e.* as well as the power which the permanency of their office gave, in contrast with the temporary tenure of the new magistrates. — **primoribus**: that some of these were plebeians is a necessary inference from the next section.

11. **ut . . . essent**: the subject of *traditum (esse)*. — **patres**: those whose families entitled them to the position; **conscripti**: those specially appointed. Later, the name *conscripti* came to be applied to all the senators, *patres conscripti* being a shortened form of *patres et conscripti*. — **conscriptos . . . lectos**: *conscripti was of course the name of those selected for the new senate.* — **mirum quantum**: sc. *profuerit;* the phrase is parenthetical, but practically has an adverbial force; see on 1, 16, 8.

Secession of the Plebeians. Election of Tribunes.

1 23. Sed et bellum Volscum inminebat et civitas secum
495 B.C. ipsa discors intestino inter patres plebemque flagrabat odio,
2 maxime propter nexos ob aes alienum. Fremebant se foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes domi a civibus captos et oppressos esse, tutioremque in bello quam in pace et inter hostis quam inter civis libertatem plebis esse; invidiamque eam sua sponte gliscentem insignis unius calamitas accen-
3 dit. Magno natu quidam cum omnium malorum suorum insignibus se in forum proiecit. Obsita erat squalore ves-
4 tis, foedior corporis habitus pallore ac macie perempti; ad hoc promissa barba et capilli efferaverant speciem oris. Noscitabatur tamen in tanta deformitate, et ordines duxisse aiebant aliaque militiae decora vulgo miserantes eum iacta-

23–33. References: Dion. Hal. 6, 22–89. Plut. *Coriol.* 6. Niebuhr, 1, 597–626. Lewis, 2, 62–84. Ihne, 1, 142–151. Mommsen, 1, 341–357.

23. 1. **nexos**: Varro, *L. L.* 7, 101 *liber, qui suas operas in servitute pro pecunia quam debebat dat, dum solveret, nexus vocatur.*

2. **foris . . . dimicantes**: there had been recent wars with the Etruscans and the Latins, who attempted to reëstablish Tarquinius, and with the Sabines. — **sua sponte**: see on 9, 7, 8.

3. **magno natu**: except in this phrase, which is used frequently by Livy (*e.g.* 21, 34, 2), the adj. usually agrees with the noun or pronoun indicating the person, *natu* being then an abl. of specification; cf. 2, 28, 9. — **foedior . . . habitus**; *i.e.* the condition of his body was more repulsive than that of his garments. — **pallore . . . perempti**: zeugma; only the second noun can be connected with *perempti* in its proper meaning; cf. 21, 40, 9 *squalore enecti.*

4. **ad hoc**: *besides*; often used by Livy, *e.g.* 21, 40, 9. — **promissa**: to be connected in sense with *capilli* as well as with *barba.* — **noscitabatur**: the frequentatives in this section add much to the liveliness of the picture. — **in**: *in spite of*; cf. 1, 24, 1. — **ordines duxisse**: *had been a centurion; ordo* = *century*, as in 3, 44, 2; the plural indicates that he had served in several

bant; ipse testes honestarum aliquot locis pugnarum cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat. Sciscitantibus, unde ille habitus, unde deformitas, cum circumfusa turba esset prope in contionis modum, Sabino bello ait se militantem, quia propter populationes agri non fructu modo caruerit, sed villa incensa fuerit, direpta omnia, pecora abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore imperatum, aes alienum fecisse. Id cumulatum usuris primo se agro paterno avitoque exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis, postremo velut tabem pervenisse ad corpus; ductum se ab creditore non in servitium sed in ergastulum et carnificinam esse. Inde ostentare tergum foedum recentibus vestigiis verberum. Ad haec visa auditaque clamor ingens oritur. Non iam foro se tumultus continet, sed passim totam urbem pervadit. Nexi, vincti solutique, se undique in publicum proripiunt, inplorant Quiritium

campaigns. — **iactabant**: *talked of.* — **aliquot locis, adverso pectore**: both phrases are used attributively, as in 1, 25, 11 *ante se.*

5. **sciscitantibus**: Livy often leaves the subject of the abl. abs. construction to be supplied from the context; cf. 3, 50, 4; 42, 16, 7. — **circumfusa . . . modum**: cf. 2, 28, 6. — **in . . . modum**: see on 21, 28, 7 and cf. 22, 7, 7. — **non fructu modo**: the phrase anticipates another noun parallel with *fructu*; instead, we come unexpectedly upon another causal clause. — **villa**: *farm.* — **fuerit**: the force of the auxiliary must be maintained through *direpta, abacta*, and *imperatum.* — **tributum**: a special tax levied in time of pressing need. — **suo** = *sibi*; cf. § 9 and 31, 31, 12 *tempore nostro adverso.*

6. **usuris**: the rate of interest was unrestricted until the passage of the Laws of the Twelve Tables in 451 B.C., which established a yearly rate of 8⅓%, a regulation that was, however, constantly violated. The evil was increased by the fact that it was the custom to add unpaid interest to the principal. — **servitium**: theoretically, it was not slavery; practically, at least in this case, it was the worst kind of slavery; cf. 6, 36, 12 *ubicumque patricius habitet, ibi carcerem privatum esse.*

7. **ad**: see on 1, 25, 6.

8. **vincti solutique**: in app. with *nexi; some wearing chains, others without them.* — **in publi-**

fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius comes; multis passim agminibus per omnes vias cum clamore in
9 forum curritur. Magno cum periculo suo qui forte patrum
10 in foro erant in eam turbam inciderunt; nec temperatum manibus foret, ni propere consules, P. Servilius et Ap. Claudius, ad conprimendam seditionem intervenissent. At in eos multitudo versa ostentare vincula sua deformitatem-
11 que aliam. Haec se meritos dicere exprobrantes suam quisque alius alibi militiam; postulare multo minaciter magis quam suppliciter, ut senatum vocarent, curiamque ipsi futuri arbitri moderatoresque publici consili circumsis-
12 tunt. Pauci admodum patrum, quos casus obtulerat, contracti ab consulibus; ceteros metus non curia modo sed etiam foro arcebat, nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam
13 poterat senatus. Tum vero eludi atque extrahi se multitudo putare, et patrum qui abessent, non casu, non metu, sed inpediendae rei causa abesse, et consules ipsos tergiver-
14 sari, nec dubie ludibrio esse miserias suas. Iam prope

cum: cf. 3, 24, 7 *ex privato*; 9, 7, 11 *publicum*. — **fidem**: *protection*. — **multis agminibus**: *in many bands*; cf. 21, 30, 8.

10. **manibus**: dative; cf. 1, 29, 6.

11. **haec se meritos**: ironical. — **exprobrantes**: with the same meaning as in 2, 27, 2. — **quisque**: in partitive app. with the subject of the hist. inf. *dicere*. — **alibi**: the attributive use of adverbs is common in Livy; see on 1, 4, 4 *divinitus*. — **vocarent**: the subject is *consules*. — **curiam**: the senate-house, built, according to tradition, by Tullius Hostilius, stood at the back of the Comitium, a rectangular space projecting from the northern corner of the Forum. — **futuri**: expressing purpose.

12. **infrequentiam**: the number required for a quorum in the senate is uncertain, but it seems to have varied with the nature of the business to be transacted.

13. **extrahi**: *put off*; the use of the verb in this sense with a personal subject is unparalleled. — **patrum**: depending upon *eos*, to be supplied as the antecedent of *qui* and the subject of *abesse*; cf. 22, 7, 5 *captivorum*.

14. **erat**: the subject is the fol-

erat, ut ne consulum quidem maiestas coerceret iras hominum, cum incerti, morando an veniendo plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum veniunt; frequentique tandem curia non modo inter patres sed ne inter consules quidem ipsos satis conveniebat. Appius, vehementis ingeni vir, imperio consulari rem agendam censebat: uno aut altero adrepto quieturos alios; Servilius, lenibus remediis aptior, concitatos animos flecti quam frangi putabat cum tutius tum facilius esse.

24. Inter haec maior alius terror: Latini equites cum tumultuoso advolant nuntio, Volscos infesto exercitu ad urbem oppugnandam venire. Quae audita — adeo duas ex una civitate discordia fecerat — longe aliter patres ac plebem adfecere. Exultare gaudio plebes, ultores superbiae patrum adesse dicere deos. Alius alium confirmare, ne nomina darent: cum omnibus potius quam solos perituros; patres militarent, patres arma caperent, ut penes eosdem pericula belli, penes quos praemia essent. At vero curia maesta ac trepida ancipiti metu et ab cive et ab hoste Servilium consulem, cui ingenium magis populare erat, orare, ut tantis circumventam terroribus expediret rem publicam.

lowing clause; cf. 2, 30, 2. With this use of the adv. *prope* cf. 5, 36, 6 *clam esse potuit*. — **veniunt**: sc. *patres*. — **non modo**: *not only not*, the negation in the second member being applied also to the first; Lane, 1682.

15. **flecti quam frangi**: see on *Praef.* 12 *luxum atque libidinem*.

24. 1. **adeo**: *to such an extent*; cf. the meaning in *Praef.* 11.

2. **plebes**: nominative singular; this form, as well as *plebis*, occurs often in the Mss. of Livy. — **ultores**: cf. 9, 1, 8. — **alius . . . darent**: *they encouraged one another not to enlist*. — **cum omnibus**: *i.e.* all together, including the patricians; there is an implication that the patricians will not be able to save the state from the enemy, as the plebeians have done. — **praemia**: especially possession of the conquered territory.

3. **curia**: *the senate*; cf. 2, 28, 4. C. L. Smith, on Hor. *Od.* 2,

4 Tum consul misso senatu in contionem prodit. Ibi curae esse patribus ostendit, ut consulatur plebi; ceterum deliberationi de maxima quidem illa, sed tamen parte civitatis, 5 metum pro universa re publica intervenisse. Nec posse, cum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello praeverti se quicquam; nec, si sit laxamenti aliquid, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi mercede prius accepta arma pro patria non cepisse, aut patribus satis decorum, per metum potius quam postmodo voluntate adflictis civium suorum fortunis con- 6 suluisse. Contioni deinde edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit, ne quis civem Romanum vinctum aut clausum teneret, quo minus ei nominis edendi apud consules potestas fieret, neu quis militis, donec in castris esset, bona possideret aut ven- 7 deret, liberos nepotesve eius moraretur. Hoc proposito edicto, et qui aderant nexi profiteri extemplo nomina, et

1, 14, compares our expression, "the House." — **terroribus**: to be taken with *expediret*, as well as with *circumventam*.

4. **maxima . . . parte**: *the larger part, to be sure, but still only a part*. For this use of the superlative see on 1, 3, 10.

5. **nec posse . . . quicquam**: *and they could allow nothing to take precedence of the war*. — **praeverti**: deponent; the act. form occurs in 9, 17, 9. — **laxamenti**: relief for the people from debt.

6. **contioni**: *speech;* cf. the meaning in § 4. Verr. Fl. (Gell. 18, 7, 5) *contionem tria significare: locum suggestumque, unde verba fierent, . . . coetum populi assistentis, item orationem ipsam, quae ad populum diceretur*. — **edicto**: *by a proclamation;* this gave them relief only during the present war. They might have demanded more permanent concessions, but it is evident (see 2, 27, 1) that they expected further assistance from the consul after the war. — **edendi**: cf. § 2 *nomina darent* and § 7 *profiteri nomina*. — **possideret**: from *possido*. — **liberos . . . moraretur**: according to the letter of Roman law, a man's children and even grandchildren were his slaves and could therefore be confiscated like any other property.

7. **nexi**: *debtors;* the word is used here in its general sense, of all who had incurred the obligation of debt; for the more restricted meaning see on 2, 23, 1.

undique ex tota urbe proripientium se ex privato, cum retinendi ius creditori non esset, concursus in forum, ut sacramento dicerent, fieri. Magna ea manus fuit, neque 8
aliorum magis in Volsco bello virtus atque opera enituit. Consul copias contra hostem educit; parvo dirimente intervallo castra ponit.

* * * * * * *

27. Fusis Auruncis victor tot intra paucos dies bellis 1
Romanus promissa consulis fidemque senatus expectabat, cum Appius, et insita superbia animo et ut collegae vanam faceret fidem, quam asperrime poterat, ius de creditis pecuniis dicere. Deinceps et qui ante nexi fuerant creditoribus tradebantur et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi cui 2
militi inciderat, collegam appellabat. Concursus ad Ser-

— **ex privato**: *i.e.* from the houses of their creditors. The English has the indefinite phrase only to indicate place where. Cf. 2, 23, 7 *in publicum*. — **ius**: theoretically the creditor had never had this right, as the debtor did not lose the rights of a citizen. — **sacramento dicerent**: Livy always uses the abl. in this phrase, where others have the accusative. It is regarded as an abl. of manner, — *according to the formula of the oath*. One soldier in each legion recited the oath in full; the others came forward singly and said *idem in me*.

27. 1. **tot . . . bellis**: in chapters 25 and 26 successful operations against the Volscians, Sabines, and Auruncians are described. — **Romanus**: *the Roman;* here, of course, with special reference to the poor plebeians who had gone to war. Cf. 1, 27, 10 *Veientem*. — **promissa . . . expectabat**: *i.e.* they demanded the fulfillment of the consul's promise and appealed to the honor of the senate. It had been naturally assumed (see 2, 24, 3 ff.) that Servilius spoke with the authority of the senate, but, as a matter of fact, so far as Livy tells us, he had made no definite promises for the time after the war. — **ius dicere**: *gave judgment*. Beginning with Sallust, the hist. inf. with *cum*, *when*, occurs occasionally. It is not surprising that we do not have the subjunctive here, as this clause contains the main statement of the sentence; Lane, 1539, 1869.

2. **collegam**: Servilius. — **iacta-**

vilium fiebat; illius promissa iactabant, illi exprobrabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas. Postulabant, ut aut referret ad senatum aut auxilio esset consul
3 civibus suis, imperator militibus. Movebant consulem haec, sed tergiversari res cogebat; adeo in alteram causam non collega solum praeceps erat, sed omnis factio nobilium. Ita medium se gerendo nec plebis vitavit odium nec apud
4 patres gratiam iniit. Patres mollem consulem et ambitiosum rati, plebes fallacem; brevique adparuit adaequasse
5 eum Appi odium. Certamen consulibus inciderat, uter dedicaret Mercuri aedem. Senatus a se rem ad populum reiecit; utri eorum dedicatio iussu populi data esset, eum praeesse annonae, mercatorum collegium instituere, sollem-
6 nia pro pontifice iussit suscipere. Populus dedicationem aedis dat M. Laetorio, primi pili centurioni; quod facile

bant: the whole description, with its short sentences, the succession of imperf. tenses, and this frequentative verb, is a very lively one. The emphatic repetition, *illius . . . illi*, is especially effective.

3. **res**: *the situation*. — **adeo**: see on 2, 24, 1. — **praeceps**: a pred. adj. giving with *erat* the idea of motion which justifies *in alteram causam*.

4. **ambitiosum**: *eager for popularity*. — **plebes**: see on 2, 24, 2. — **eum**: brachylogy for *odium eius*; cf. 22, 46, 5 *alios*; 26, 9, 10 *consulibus*; 26, 12, 14 *hoste*. — **Appi**: objective genitive.

5. **annonae**: the charge of the markets was later given to the aediles. — **mercatorum collegium**: the guild of merchants, one of the objects of their organization being the worship of Mercury, their patron divinity. The members were called *Mercuriales*. There is, therefore, a natural combination of the three duties here mentioned, — the dedication of the temple of Mercury, the organization of the merchants' guild, and the supervision of the market. — **sollemnia**: the rites at the dedication of the temple. — **pro pontifice**: *in the presence of the pontifex maximus*; 9, 46, 6 *pontifex maximus verba praeire*.

6. **primi pili centurioni**: the first centurion of the first maniple of the *triarii*, — the chief centurion of a legion. — **adpareret**: the imperf. subj. denotes an action

adpareret non tam ad honorem eius, cui curatio altior fastigio suo data esset, factum quam ad consulum ignominiam. Saevire inde utique consulum alter patresque, 7
sed plebi creverant animi, et longe alia quam primo instituerant via grassabantur. Desperato enim consulum sena- 8
tusque auxilio, cum in ius duci debitorem vidissent, undique convolabant. Neque decretum exaudiri consulis prae strepitu et clamore poterat, neque, cum decresset, quisquam obtemperabat. Vi agebatur, metusque omnis et 9
periculum [libertatis], cum in conspectu consulis singuli a pluribus violarentur, in creditores a debitoribus verterant. Super haec timor incessit Sabini belli; dilectuque decreto 10
nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio et insectante ambitionem collegae, qui populari silentio rem publicam proderet, et ad id, quod de credita pecunia ius non dixisset, adiceret, ut ne dilectum quidem ex senatus consulto haberet: non esse 11
tamen desertam omnino rem publicam neque proiectum consulare imperium; se unum et suae et patrum maiestatis vindicem fore. Cum circumstaret cotidiana multitudo 12
licentia accensa, adripi unum insignem ducem seditionum iussit. Ille cum a lictoribus iam traheretur, provocavit;

that might have occurred in past time; Lane, 1559; cf. 22, 7, 12 *cerneres*. — **fastigio**: *rank*; for this meaning cf. 3, 35, 9.

7. **grassabantur**: the word often contains the idea of violence; but cf. 3, 44, 8 *se iure grassari, non vi*.

8. **prae**: see on 1, 29, 3.

9. **[libertatis]**: rejected by Madvig on the ground that the freedom of the creditors was not endangered.

10. **super haec** = *praeterea*. — **incessit**: Livy regularly has the acc. with this verb; but cf. 9, 4, 6. — **ambitionem**: cf. § 4 *ambitiosum*. — **populari silentio**: *by a silence intended to win popularity*. — **proderet, adiceret**: the reasons given by Appius; hence the subjunctive. — **ut . . . haberet**: the object of *adiceret*.

11. **proiectum**: see on 22, 44, 7.

12. **provocavit**: he appealed to the people; according to the law of P. Valerius, passed in 509, the

nec cessisset provocationi consul, quia non dubium erat populi iudicium, nisi aegre victa pertinacia foret consilio magis et auctoritate principum quam populi clamore;
13 adeo supererant animi ad sustinendam invidiam. Crescere inde malum in dies non clamoribus modo apertis sed, quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque conloquiis. Tandem invisi plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Servilius neutris, Appius patribus mire gratus.

1 **28.** A. Verginius inde et T. Vetusius consulatum ineunt.
494 B.C. Tum vero plebs incerta quales habitura consules esset, coetus nocturnos, pars Esquiliis, pars in Aventino, facere, ne in foro subitis trepidaret consiliis et omnia temere ac
2 fortuito ageret. Eam rem consules rati, ut erat, perniciosam ad patres deferunt, sed delatam consulere ordine non licuit; adeo tumultuose excepta est clamoribus undique et indignatione patrum, si, quod imperio consulari exsequen-

consul was compelled to submit a case thus appealed to the Comitia Centuriata. — **adeo . . . invidiam**: *such exceeding courage had he for enduring unpopularity.* — **supererant**: cf. 1, 6, 3. — **animi**: see on 1, 25, 3.

28. 1. **Vetusius**: the old form of *Veturius*; 3, 4, 1 *Furios Fusios scripsere quidam. s* between vowels regularly changed to *r*; *eram* stands for *esam*, *lares* for *lases*, etc. At this time there were no *cognomina*, the use of which did not become general till the fourth century B.C. — **Esquiliis**: locative, as if it were the name of a town; cf. 26, 10, 1, and 5. The Esquiline in particular was so treated, perhaps because it was so exclusively the home of the poor people that it was almost regarded as a separate settlement. Both hills were on the outskirts of the city, but were included within the wall of Servius Tullius. — **trepidaret**: *might become confused*, as in 3, 51, 1.

2. **delatam consulere**: the acc. of the question under discussion is rarely found with *consulere*; cf. 39, 40, 6 *si ius consuleres*; Verg. *Aen.* 11, 343–344 *rem nulli obscuram . . . consulis.* — **indignatione . . . si**: they were angry because of the possibility of such an occurrence; cf. 7, 31, 6. — **quod**: the antecedent is *eius*.

dum esset, invidiam eius consules ad senatum reicerent: profecto, si essent in re publica magistratus, nullum futu- 3
rum fuisse Romae nisi publicum consilium; nunc in mille 4
curias contionesque, cum alia [in] Esquiliis, alia in Aventino fiant concilia, dispersam et dissipatam esse rem publicam. Vnum hercule virum — id enim plus esse quam consulem —, qualis Ap. Claudius fuerit, momento temporis discussurum illos coetus fuisse. Conrepti consules cum, 5
quid ergo se facere vellent, — nihil enim segnius molliusve quam patribus placeat acturos, — percunctarentur, decernunt, ut dilectum quam acerrimum habeant: otio lascivire plebem. Dimisso senatu consules in tribunal escendunt; 6
citant nominatim iuniores. Cum ad nomen nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in contionis modum negare ultra decipi plebem posse: numquam unum militem habi- 7
turos, ni praestaretur fides publica; libertatem unicuique prius reddendam esse quam arma danda, ut pro patria civibusque, non pro dominis pugnent. Consules, quid 8
mandatum esset a senatu, videbant, sed eorum qui intra parietes curiae ferociter loquerentur neminem adesse

4. **nunc**: see on 1, 28, 9. — **curias**: see on 2, 24, 3. — **id** = *virum esse*; cf. the use of the neuter pronoun in 30, 30, 12.

5. **conrepti**: *thus attacked.* — **ergo**: rarely used in an indirect question. It suggests here the impatience of the question, in fact gives to it almost the force of the direct form; this effect is strengthened by the use of the pres. *placeat*; see on 1, 27, 8. — **nihil . . . acturos**: the ind. disc. is introduced by a verb of saying implied in *percunctarentur*. — **decernunt**: the subject is *patres*. For a similar change in subject, the second being indicated by the context, see 1, 4, 3 *datur*, *iubet*.

6. **iuniores**: Gell. 10, 28, 1 *eos* (*milites*) *ad annum quadragesimum sextum iuniores, supraque eum annum seniores appellasse* (*Servium Tullium*). — **circumfusa**: reflexive, as in 22, 7, 11.

7. **habituros**: the subject is *patres*. — **fides publica**: see on 2, 27, 1 *fidem senatus*.

invidiae suae participem. Et adparebat atrox cum plebe
9 certamen. Prius itaque quam ultima experirentur, senatum iterum consulere placuit. Tum vero ad sellas consulum propere convolavere minimus quisque natu patrum, abdicare consulatum iubentes et deponere imperium, ad quod tuendum animus deesset.

1 29. Vtraque re satis experta tum demum consules: "Ne praedictum negetis, patres conscripti, adest ingens seditio. Postulamus ut ii, qui maxime ignaviam increpant, adsint nobis habentibus dilectum. Acerrimi cuiusque
2 arbitrio, quando ita placet, rem agemus." Redeunt in tribunal; citari nominatim unum ex iis, qui in conspectu erant, dedita opera iubent. Cum staret tacitus, et circa eum aliquot hominum, ne forte violaretur, constitisset
3 globus, lictorem ad eum consules mittunt. Quo repulso tum vero indignum facinus esse clamitantes, qui patrum consulibus aderant, devolant de tribunali, ut lictori auxilio
4 essent. Sed ab lictore, nihil aliud quam prendere pro-

8. **suae**: refers to the consuls. — **et**: *and yet*; see on 24, 34, 1. — **adparebat**: *was at hand*.

9. **convolavere**: Livy uses freely a plural verb with a singular collective subject, with *optimus quisque* etc.; cf. 7, 2, 5; 27, 48, 16. — **minimus quisque**: cf. 3, 50, 1 *iuniores patrum*. — **abdicare consulatum**: the usual expression is *abdicare se consulatu*; cf. 2, 31, 10.

29. 1. **utraque re**: they had tried both to enforce the levy and to impress upon the senate the necessity of compromise. — **experta**: for the passive use cf. 21, 1, 2. — **ne . . . negetis**: their purpose in making the following statement; see on 1, 28, 5 *teneat*.

2. **nominatim**: an irregularity, of course, to call upon a man except in the order of the list. This was done purposely (*dedita opera*), that there might be no question of his receiving the summons.

3. **qui patrum** = *ei patrum qui*; cf. 2, 23, 13.

4. **nihil aliud quam**: adv. *only*. This usage, not in Caesar or Cicero, is common in Livy: cf. 2, 32, 8 and 9. The meaning is, *No violence was done to the lictor; he was only prevented from making the arrest*.

hibito, cum conversus in patres impetus esset, consulum intercursu rixa sedata est, in qua tamen sine lapide, sine telo plus clamoris atque irarum quam iniuriae fuerat. Senatus tumultuose vocatus tumultuosius consulitur, quaes- 5
tionem postulantibus iis, qui pulsati fuerant, decernente ferocissimo quoque non sententiis magis quam clamore et strepitu. Tandem cum irae resedissent, exprobrantibus 6
consulibus nihilo plus sanitatis in curia quam in foro esse, ordine consuli coepit. Tres fuere sententiae. P. Verginius rem non vulgabat; de iis tantum qui fidem secuti P. 7
Servili consulis Volsco, Aurunco Sabinoque militassent bello, agendum censebat. T. Larcius non id tempus esse, 8
ut merita tantummodo exsolverentur; totam plebem aere alieno demersam esse, nec sisti posse, ni omnibus consulatur; quin, si alia aliorum sit condicio, accendi magis

5. **tumultuose . . . tumultuosius**: see on 27, 51, 5. — **decernente**: this may be regarded as transitive, with *quaestionem* as its object, or, better, as intransitive, *contending*. It is often used of physical conflict, and perhaps there is a suggestion of that here, an effect which is strengthened by *ferocissimo*.

6. **consuli coepit**: Livy sometimes uses the act. *coepi* with a pass. inf. (*e.g.* 22, 4, 4); but nowhere else with an impersonal subject.

7. **P. Verginius**: it was the custom for the *consulares* to express their opinions first. As no Verginius with this *praenomen* had been consul, we must suppose that there is a mistake in the *praenomen* or that on this occasion the custom was disregarded. It is possible, however, that Livy is not giving the opinions in the order in which they were offered, and that Verginius was not at the head of the list. — **vulgabat**: *i.e.* did not wish to treat all alike; note the force of the imperfect. — **qui . . . Servili**: see 2, 24, 6.

8. **T. Larcius**: sc. *censebat*. — **id**: pred. adj. = *eius modi*; the situation demanded something more than pay for services rendered. — **nec sisti posse**: impers. use of the intrans. *sisto*; *there could be no peace*. — **ni omnibus consulatur**: he was advocating the cancellation of all debts. — *tabulae novae*. — **accendi, sedari**: present for future; Lane, 1593.

9 discordiam quam sedari. Ap. Claudius, et natura inmitis et efferatus hinc plebis odio, illinc patrum laudibus, non miseriis ait sed licentia tantum concitum turbarum, et
10 lascivire magis plebem quam saevire; id adeo malum ex provocatione natum; quippe minas esse consulum, non imperium, ubi ad eos, qui una peccaverint, provocare
11 liceat. "Agedum," inquit "dictatorem, a quo provocatio non est, creemus! iam hic, quo nunc omnia ardent, con-
12 ticiscet furor. Pulset tum mihi lictorem, qui sciet ius de tergo vitaque sua penes unum illum esse, cuius maiestatem violarit."

1 30. Multis, ut erat, horrida et atrox videbatur Appi sententia; rursus Vergini Larcique exemplo haud salubres, utique Larci [putabant sententiam], quae totam fidem tolleret. Medium maxime et moderatum utroque consilium

9. **Ap. Claudius**: see 2, 23, 15. — **laudibus**: see 2, 28, 4. — **lascivire, saevire**: the similarity of ending, called by the rhetoricians *homoeoteleuton*, is intentional and emphasizes the contrast.

10. **adeo**: emphasizing *id; it was just this evil.* — **provocatione**: *the right of appeal.*

11. **agedum**: this familiar combination is rather an interjection than a verb, as is shown by the fact that we have here the singular addressed to more than one person. For the same use of *age* alone, see 26, 13, 7. Ordinarily, however, Livy uses the plural where more than one person is addressed; *e.g.* 21, 43, 7. — **provocatio non est**: 2, 18, 8 *neque enim ut in consulibus, qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium, neque provocatio erat, neque ullum usquam nisi in cura parendi auxilium.*

12. **pulset**: the antecedent of *qui* is the subject. — **mihi**: ethical dative; *then let me see*, etc. — **ius . . . sua**: the right of corporal and capital punishment.

30. 1. **rursus**: *on the other hand.* — **Vergini . . . salubres**: sc. *sententiae videbantur.* — **exemplo**: because of the precedent they would establish; *i.e.* the plebeians would henceforth think they could secure any demand by threats of violence. — **quae . . . tolleret**: *because it destroyed all credit.* — **utroque**: *in both directions;* cf. 1, 24, 1.

2. **factione**: the natural hostility of patricians toward plebeians;

Vergini habebatur; sed factione respectuque rerum privatarum, quae semper offecere officientque publicis consiliis, Appius vicit, ac prope fuit, ut dictator ille idem crearetur; quae res utique alienasset plebem periculosissimo tempore, cum Volsci Aequique et Sabini forte una omnes in armis essent. Sed curae fuit consulibus et senioribus patrum, ut *magistratus* imperio suo vehemens mansueto permitteretur ingenio. M'. Valerium dictatorem, Volesi filium, creant. Plebes etsi adversus se creatum dictatorem videbat, tamen, cum provocationem fratris lege haberet, nihil ex ea familia triste nec superbum timebat. Edictum deinde a dictatore propositum confirmavit animos Servili fere consulis edicto conveniens; sed et homini et potestati melius rati credi omisso certamine nomina dedere. Quantus numquam ante exercitus, legiones decem effectae; ternae inde datae consulibus, quattuor dictator usus. 2 3 4 5 6 7

* * * * * * *

31. Ita trifariam re bello bene gesta, de domesticarum rerum eventu nec patribus nec plebi cura decesserat; 7

party feeling. — **respectu . . . privatarum**: the senators were themselves the chief creditors. — **prope fuit**: see on 2, 23, 14.

4. **senioribus patrum**: see on 2, 28, 9 *minimus quisque.* — **magistratus**: *office.* For the thought of this clause cf. Cic. *ad Q. fr.* 1, 1, 37 *nihil est tam deforme, quam ad summum imperium etiam acerbitatem naturae adiungere.*

5. **creant**: the dictator was appointed by one of the consuls, who, in theory at least, was not bound by the selection or suggestion of the senate. — **plebes**: see on 2, 24, 2. — **fratris lege**: see on 2, 27, 12.

6. **Servili edicto**: 2, 24, 6. — **sed**: introducing a thought contrasted with that suggested by *Servili . . . conveniens; i.e.* they remembered that the edict of Servilius was disregarded, but thought it better to trust a man of the Valerian family, whose power, moreover, was not restricted, as that of Servilius had been.

31. 7. **trifariam**: in the omitted sections, 30, 8–31, 6, is a description of successful campaigns against the Aequians, Volscians,

tanta cum gratia tum arte praeparaverant faeneratores, quae non modo plebem sed ipsum etiam dictatorem fru-
8 strarentur. Namque Valerius post Vetusi consulis reditum omnium actionum in senatu primam habuit pro victore
9 populo rettulitque quid de nexis fieri placeret. Quae cum reiecta relatio esset, "non placeo" inquit "concordiae auctor; optabitis, mediusfidius, propediem, ut mei similes Romana plebes patronos habeat. Quod ad me attinet, neque frustrabor ultra cives meos, neque ipse frustra
10 dictator ero. Discordiae intestinae, bellum externum fecere, ut hoc magistratu egeret res publica; pax foris parta est, domi inpeditur; privatus potius quam dictator seditioni interero." Ita curia egressus dictatura se abdi-
11 cavit. Adparuit causa plebi, suam vicem indignantem magistratu abisse. Itaque velut persoluta fide, quoniam per eum non stetisset, quin praestaretur, decedentem domum cum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

and Sabines. — **patribus, plebi**: see on 1, 1, 1 *duobus*. — **tanta**: abl. with *gratia* and *arte*.

8. **reditum**: from the war with the Aequians. — **omnium . . . populo**: *proposed action in the senate first of all in behalf of the victorious people*. — **rettulit**: *introduced the question*; cf. 9, 8, 1.

9. **reiecta**: *shelved*; as a parliamentary term *reicere* usually means to refer a matter to another magistrate or body. — **concordiae**: harmony between patricians and plebeians, whereas *pax* is properly used of the relation between different peoples; in § 10 *pax* is used with *domi inpeditur* in the sense of *concordia*. — **mediusfidius**: the first element, *me*, is perhaps the object of a verb to be supplied, *e.g. iuvet*; cf. *mehercule*. Dius Fidius was an old Sabine god of oaths and, in general, of fidelity and honor, having a temple on the Quirinal.

10. **dictatura se abdicavit**: the usual expression; cf. 2, 28, 9.

11. **suam vicem**: *on their account*; adv. acc., referring to *plebi*, which is the logical subject of the sentence; 1, 25, 6 *vice*. — **quoniam . . . praestaretur**: *since it was not due to him that the promise was not fulfilled*.

32. Timor inde patres incessit, ne, si dimissus exercitus 1
foret, rursus coetus occulti coniurationesque fierent. Itaque,
quamquam per dictatorem dilectus habitus esset, tamen,
quoniam in consulum verba iurassent, sacramento teneri
militem rati, per causam renovati ab Aequis belli educi ex
urbe legiones iussere. Quo facto maturata est seditio. Et 2
primo agitatum dicitur de consulum caede, ut solverentur
sacramento; doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem ex-
solvi, Sicinio quodam auctore iniussu consulum in Sacrum
montem secessisse; trans Anienem amnem est, tria ab urbe
milia passuum. — Ea frequentior fama est quam, cuius Piso 3
auctor est, in Aventinum secessionem factam esse. — Ibi 4
sine ullo duce, vallo fossaque communitis castris, quieti,
rem nullam nisi necessariam ad victum sumendo, per ali-
quot dies neque lacessiti neque lacessentes sese tenuere.

32. 1. **habitus esset**: for the subjunctive, rare with *quamquam* in Livy's time, see Lane, 1900. — **in consulum verba**: the oath had been administered by the consuls; see on 2, 24, 7 *sacramento dicerent*. — **militem**: see on 2, 27, 1 *Romanus*. — **per causam**: *on the pretext*; the statement might well have been true, however, as the victory over the Aequians was by no means final. — **legiones**: Livy leaves us to suppose that the dictator had not disbanded his four legions, and that they acted with the other six in the events that follow. Dion. Hal. 6, 43, on the other hand, says that Valerius had dismissed his army and that only the legions of the consuls participated in the rebellion.

2. **religionem**: *religious obligation*. — **Sacrum montem**: after their return, the hill was consecrated to Jupiter under this name. It is usually written in this way; for the other order see 3, 52, 3.

3. **frequentior**: *more commonly accepted*; cf. 1, 7, 2 *vulgatior* and see on 1, 24, 1 *plures*. — **Piso**: L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, who was consul in 133 B.C. and wrote a history of Rome from Aeneas to his own time. Livy himself in 3, 54, 9 accepts the other story. The double tradition is explained if the statement of Cic. *Rep.* 2, 58 is correct, that the plebeians occupied first the Sacred Hill and later the Aventine.

4. **sumendo**: see on 1, 5, 6 *comparando*. — **aliquot**: *many*, as

5 Pavor ingens in urbe metuque mutuo suspensa erant omnia. Timere relicta ab suis plebes violentiam patrum; timere patres residem in urbe plebem, incerti, manere eam an 6 abire mallent. Quamdiu autem tranquillam quae secesserit multitudinem fore? Quid futurum deinde, si quod exter- 7 num interim bellum existat? Nullam profecto nisi in concordia civium spem reliquam ducere: eam per aequa, per 8 iniqua reconciliandam civitati esse. Placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti, Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum et, quod inde oriundus erat, plebi carum.

Is intromissus in castra prisco illo dicendi et horrido 9 modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur: tempore quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentientia, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia quaeri, ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud 10 quam datis voluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes conficerent. Hac ira dum ventrem fame domare vellent,

is clear from the following chapters; in 7, 2, 8 *aliquot annos* is used of a century.

6. quid . . . existat: the same fear is expressed in 3, 52, 7.

7. **ducere**: hist. inf. parallel with *timere*. — **per aequa, per iniqua**: *i.e.* whether the demand of the people were just or unjust.

8. **oratorem**: *envoy*. — **Menenium Agrippam**: the name would be naturally in the other order, as Agrippa is a *praenomen*; this interchange of *praenomen* and *nomen* occurs elsewhere in Livy. According to Cic. *Brut.* 54, Valerius was still dictator, and it was he who acted as envoy; Livy himself in 8, 18, 12 speaks as if there had been a dictator at this time. — **inde**: from the plebeians; a branch of this family had probably been taken into the patrician order in 509; see 2, 1, 10. — **horrido**: *rough, untrained*. — **nihil aliud quam**: elliptical as in 2, 29, 4; sc. *fecisse*.

9. **consentientia**: sc. *fuerint* from the following *fuerit*. — **indignatas**: sc. *esse*. — **ventri**: dat. of interest.

10. **nec**: *et ne*; see on 1, 2, 4.

ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde adparuisse ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum, reddentem in omnis corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas maturum confecto cibo sanguinem. Conparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum. 11 12

33. Agi deinde de concordia coeptum concessumque in condiciones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, quibus auxili latio adversus consules esset, neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Ita tribuni plebei creati duo, C. Licinius et L. Albinus. Hi tres collegas sibi creaverunt, in his Sicinium, [fuisse] seditionis auctorem; de duobus, qui fuerint, minus convenit. Sunt qui duos tantum in Sacro monte creatos tribunos esse dicant ibique sacratam legem latam. 1 2 3

12. **flexisse**: depending upon *fertur* in § 8, the intervening story having been introduced by *narrasse*.

33. 1. **coeptum**: see on 2, 29, 6. — **concessumque . . . ut**: *concessions were made to the effect that*. The great evil, the condition of the debtors, seems to have been forgotten. The creation of tribunes might prevent persecution in individual cases, but would not improve the condition of the poor in general. — **sui**: in the emphatic position before its noun; *their own*. — **sacrosancti**: 3, 55, 7 *qui tribunis plebis . . . nocuisset, eius caput Iovi sacrum esset, familia ad aedem Cereris Liberi Liberaeque venum iret*. — **patrum**: *patricians*.

2. **plebei**: this fifth declension gen. is found occasionally with *tribunus*, *aedilis*, and *scitum*; the third declension form is more common. — **creati**: by the *concilium plebis*, which was organized at this time. Granrud's *Roman Constitutional History*, p. 45. — **tres collegas**: it is very probable, as the plebeian tribunes were to be especially the opponents of the two patrician consuls, that at first there were only two.

3. **ibique**: there appears to be an inconsistency here, for Livy himself has allowed us to think that the law was passed (*i.e.* proposed, and approved by Menenius Agrippa as representative of the *patres*) on the Sacred Hill. — **sacratam legem**:

BOOK III

The Decemvirs. Laws of the Twelve Tables. The Story of Verginia.

1 33. Anno trecentesimo altero quam condita Roma erat,
451 B.C. iterum mutatur forma civitatis, ab consulibus ad decem-
viros, quem ad modum ab regibus ante ad consules venerat,
2 translato imperio. Minus insignis, quia non diuturna, muta-
tio fuit. Laeta enim principia magistratus eius nimis luxu-
riavere; eo citius lapsa res est, repetitumque duobus uti
3 mandaretur consulum nomen imperiumque. Decemviri
creati Ap. Claudius, T. Genucius, P. Sestius, L. Veturius,
C. Iulius, A. Manlius, P. Sulpicius, P. Curiatius, T. Romi-
4 lius, Sp. Postumius. Claudio et Genucio, quia designati con-

the law that made the tribunes *sacrosancti*. A person who violated a *lex sacrata* was *sacer*, devoted as an offering to the gods; see on § 1.

Book III. **33–36, 44–52.** References: Dion. Hal. 10, 55–11, 44. Diod. Sic. 12, 23–25. Niebuhr, 2, 304–358. Lewis, 2, 194–252. Ihne, 1, 188–199. Mommsen, 1, 362–368.

33. 1. anno . . . altero: the decemvirs were elected in 452 and began their duties in 451. — **quam**: cf. 6, 29, 10 *die vicensimo quam creatus erat dictatura se abdicavit*. — **mutatur forma civitatis**: Livy speaks here as if there were actually a fundamental change of government and, in § 2, as if the change might have been a permanent one. This is inconsistent with what he says elsewhere; *e.g.* in 3, 34, 7. In fact, the decemvirs were only a temporary commission, appointed to draw up a written code of laws, their full title being *decemviri consulari imperio legibus scribendis*.

2. luxuriavere: the premature development of a plant is the idea that underlies this passage. — **duobus**: note the emphatic position.

3. Ap. Claudius: either the son or the grandson of the consul of the same name in 2, 23, 10 ff.

4. designati . . . fuerant: *i.e.* the regular consular election had taken place before the election of decemvirs was decided upon. — **collega invito**: according to Dion. Hal. 10, 55, both consuls had been unwilling to bring the matter be-

sules in eum annum fuerant, pro honore honos redditus, et Sestio, alteri consulum prioris anni, quod eam rem collega invito ad patres rettulerat. His proximi habiti legati tres, 5
qui Athenas ierant, simul ut pro legatione tam longinqua praemio esset honos, simul peritos legum peregrinarum ad condenda nova iura usui fore credebant. Supplevere ceteri 6
numerum. Graves quoque aetate electos novissimis suffragiis ferunt, quo minus ferociter aliorum scitis adversarentur. Regimen totius magistratus penes Appium erat favore ple- 7
bis; adeoque novum sibi ingenium induerat, ut plebicola repente omnisque aurae popularis captator evaderet pro truci saevoque insectatore plebis.

Decimo die ius populo singuli reddebant. Eo die penes 8
praefectum iuris fasces duodecim erant, collegis novem

fore the senate, but while Menenius was ill, Sestius had been overborne by the consuls-elect and the tribunes.

5. **proximi habiti**: cf. Cic. *ad Att.* 1, 1, 3 *observat L. Domitium maxime, ne habet proximum. habere* has here a pregnant force, *to esteem*, and therefore *to select*. — **legati tres**: they were Manlius, Sulpicius, and Postumius, who had been sent to Athens to study the laws of Solon and those of the other Greek states. — **peritos . . . credebant**: an independent clause, where the correlation of the second *simul* with the first leads us to expect a *quod* clause.

6. **quoque**: *i.e.* not only were they of no great consequence (*supplevere . . . numerum*), but in addition they were old. — **novissimis suffragiis**: *by the last votes*; implying that the members were elected singly.

7. **magistratus**: the collective use is very rare. — **adeoque** etc.: explaining *favore plebis*. — **aurae popularis**: the same figure occurs in Hor. *Od.* 3, 2, 20.

8. **decimo die**: *i.e.* they administered justice in rotation, so that each had his turn every tenth day. The sentence is misleading and difficult to understand, as court was not held on *dies nefasti*. The account of Dion. Hal. 10, 57 is quite different; he says that each assumed the supremacy for a fixed number of days, but that all administered justice. — **praefectum iuris**: *the one who administered justice*; the phrase does not occur elsewhere and is not a formal title.

singuli accensi adparebant. Et in unica concordia inter ipsos, qui consensus privatis interdum inutilis est, summa
9 adversus alios aequitas erat. Moderationis eorum argumentum exemplo unius rei notasse satis erit. Cum sine provocatione creati essent, defosso cadavere domi apud P. Sestium, patriciae gentis virum, invento prolatoque in con-
10 tionem, in re iuxta manifesta atque atroci C. Iulius decemvir diem Sestio dixit et accusator ad populum extitit, cuius rei iudex legitimus erat, decessitque iure suo, ut demptum de vi magistratus populi libertati adiceret.

1 **34.** Cum promptum hoc ius velut ex oraculo incorruptum pariter ab iis summi infimique ferrent, tum legibus condendis opera dabatur; ingentique hominum expectatione propositis decem tabulis populum ad contionem advocaverunt
2 et, quod bonum, faustum felixque rei publicae ipsis liberis-
3 que eorum esset, ire et legere leges propositas iussere: se, quantum decem hominum ingeniis provideri potuerit, omnibus, summis infimisque, iura aequasse; plus pollere mul-
4 torum ingenia consiliaque. Versarent in animis secum

— **in**: see on 2, 23, 4. — **unica**: cf. the meanings of the English word *singular*. — **adversus**: see on 5, 35, 4.

9. **defosso**: adj.; *a buried body*. — **P. Sestium**: not the decemvir.

10. **iuxta . . . atroci**: cf. 5, 6, 5 *iuxta hieme atque aestate*; with *iuxta* used in this way the emphasis is always on the first word. — **cuius . . . erat**: he was legally entitled to try the case and pass judgment, and the defendant had no right of appeal. — **rei**: gen. of *reus*; for the position see on *Praef.* 11 *civitatem*. — **demptum**: used substantively. — **vi . . . libertati**: chiasmus.

34. 1. **promptum hoc ius**: *this prompt execution of justice*. — **velut ex oraculo**: cf. 9, 3, 8. — **ferrent**: *received*.

2. **quod . . . esset**: cf. 1, 29, 7; imperf. because it is in ind. disc. introduced by *iussere*.

3. **iura aequasse**: though these laws included the *ius publicum* as well as the *ius privatum* (see § 6), there was of course no equalization of the political privileges of patricians and plebeians.

unamquamque rem, agitarent deinde sermonibus atque in medium, quid in quaque re plus minusve esset, conferrent; eas leges habiturum populum Romanum, quas consensus 5
omnium non iussisse latas magis quam tulisse videri posset. Cum ad rumores hominum de unoquoque legum capite 6
editos satis correctae viderentur, centuriatis comitiis decem tabularum leges perlatae sunt, qui nunc quoque in hoc immenso aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cumulo fons omnis publici privatique est iuris. Vulgatur deinde rumor 7
duas deesse tabulas, quibus adiectis absolvi posse velut corpus omnis Romani iuris. Ea expectatio, cum dies comitiorum adpropinquaret, desiderium decemviros iterum creandi fecit. Iam plebs, praeterquam quod consulum 8
nomen haud secus quam regum perosa erat, ne tribunicium quidem auxilium cedentibus in vicem appellationi decemviris quaerebat.

35. Postquam vero comitia decemviris creandis in trinum 1
nundinum indicta sunt, tanta exarsit ambitio, ut primores

4. **in medium . . . conferrent**: *announce for the public good what under each head seemed to be exaggerated or slighted.*

5. **non iussisse . . . tulisse**, *i.e.* to have actually proposed, not merely to have ratified laws proposed by others. — **posset**: *posse* is often used with *videri* in passages where it seems quite superfluous; see 3, 50, 10.

6. **ad**: *in accordance with.* — **perlatae sunt**: *were passed*; the people thus put themselves under obligation to obey the laws. — **qui**: in agreement with the pred. noun *fons*.

7. **velut**: to be taken with *corpus*. — **ea expectatio**: *expectation of this*; cf. 21, 46, 7 *is pavor*.

8. **plebs . . . quaerebat**: hating the consular office and feeling no need of the tribunician, which was suspended during the administration of the decemvirs, the people were not anxious for a restoration of the regular government. — **perosa erat**: the deponent forms of this verb are not found earlier than Livy. — **cedentibus . . . appellationi**: *recognizing* (lit. *yielding to*) *the right of appeal from one to another*; see 3, 36, 6.

35. 1. **in trinum nundinum**: the

2 quoque civitatis — metu, credo, ne tanti possessio imperi vacuo ab se relicto loco haud satis dignis pateret — prensarent homines, honorem summa ope a se inpugnatum ab ea
3 plebe, cum qua contenderant, suppliciter petentes. Demissa iam in discrimen dignitas ea aetate iisque honoribus actis stimulabat Ap. Claudium. Nescires, utrum inter de-
4 cemviros an inter candidatos numerares. Propior interdum petendo quam gerendo magistratui erat; criminari optimates, extollere candidatorum levissimum quemque humilli-
5 mumque, ipse medius inter tribunicios, Duillios Iciliosque, in foro volitare, per illos se plebi venditare, donec collegae quoque, qui unice illi dediti fuerant ad id tempus, coniecere
6 in eum oculos, mirantes quid sibi vellet: adparere nihil sinceri esse; profecto haud gratuitam in tanta superbia comitatem fore; nimium in ordinem se ipsum cogere et vulgari cum privatis non tam properantis abire magistratu quam viam ad continuandum magistratum quaerentis esse.
7 Propalam obviam ire cupiditati parum ausi obsecundando

election was announced seventeen days (two Roman weeks) in advance; *i.e.* for the second market day (*nundinae*) after the one on which it was announced.

2. **credo**: it is difficult to believe that this is not ironical. — **relicto**: conditional, like *adiectis* in 3, 34, 7. — **prensarent homines**: *began to buttonhole voters*. — **inpugnatum**: the patricians had vigorously opposed the appointment of the decemvirs. — **contenderant**: the indicative emphasizes the fact.

3. **demissa . . . actis**: *the fact that dignified men advanced in years and of honorable reputation were entering the lists*. *aetate* and *honoribus* are abl. of quality. — **nescires**: see on 2, 27, 6 *adpareret*.

4. **criminari**: hist. inf.; *optimates* is the object.

5. **quid sibi vellet**: *what he meant*; cf. 3, 50, 15.

6. **fore**: *would prove to be*. — **in ordinem cogere**: a military term, *to reduce to the ranks*. — **se**: object; the subject is indefinite. — **cogere, vulgari**: subjects of *esse*. *vulgari* is a good example of the middle voice; *to make one's self intimate with*; cf. 22, 7, 11 *circumfundebantur*.

mollire impetum adgrediuntur. Comitiorum illi habendorum, quando minimus natu sit, munus consensu iniungunt. Ars haec erat, ne semet ipse creare posset, quod praeter tribunos plebi, et id ipsum pessimo exemplo, nemo umquam fecisset. Ille enimvero, quod bene vertat, habiturum se comitia professus, inpedimentum pro occasione adripuit, deiectisque honore per coitionem duobus Quinctiis, Capitolino et Cincinnato, et patruo suo C. Claudio, constantissimo viro in optimatium causa, et aliis eiusdem fastigi civibus, nequaquam splendore vitae pares decemviros creat, se in primis, quod haud secus factum inprobabant boni, quam nemo facere ausurum crediderat. Creati cum eo M. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Sergius, L. Minucius, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, Q. Poetilius, T. Antonius Merenda, K. Duillius, Sp. Oppius Cornicen, M'. Rabuleius. 8 9 10 11

36. Ille finis Appio alienae personae ferendae fuit; suo iam inde vivere ingenio coepit novosque collegas, iam prius- 1 450 B.C.

7. **cupiditati**: it seems to have been understood that the decemvirs were not to be reëlected, and for that reason the others opposed the desire of Appius. — **obsecundando**: *i.e.* by pretending to acquiesce.

8. **creare**: *i.e.* to receive votes for himself and declare himself elected; see on 9, 7, 15. — **plebi**: an unusual gen. from the nom. *plebes*. — **enimvero**: to be taken with *professus; actually agreeing*. — **quod . . . vertat**: see on 1, 28, 1; these are the words of Appius. — **inpedimentum . . . adripuit**: *took a hindrance for an opportunity*.

9. **per coitionem**: by an arrangement between Appius and the candidates whom he was supporting. — **fastigi**: cf. 2, 27, 6.

10. **quod . . . crediderat**: their disapproval was as great as their surprise.

11. Livy thinks (4, 3, 17) that these were all patricians, but, according to Dion. Hal. 10, 58, three of them, Poetilius, Duillius, and Oppius, were plebeians. It has been suggested that Rabuleius and Antonius also were plebeians, in which case there would be an equal division.

36. 1. **suo, suos**: note the emphatic position.

quam inirent magistratum, in suos mores formare. Cotidie coibant remotis arbitris; inde inpotentibus instructi consiliis, quae secreto ab aliis coquebant, iam haud dissimulando superbiam, rari aditus, conloquentibus difficiles, ad idus Maias rem perduxere. Idus tum Maiae sollemnes ineundis magistratibus erant. Inito igitur magistratu primum honoris diem denuntiatione ingentis terroris insignem fecere. Nam cum ita priores decemviri servassent, ut unus fasces haberet et hoc insigne regium in orbem suam cuiusque vicem per omnes iret, subito omnes cum duodenis fascibus prodiere. Centum viginti lictores forum inpleverant, et cum fascibus secures inligatas praeferebant; nec attinuisse demi securem, cum sine provocatione creati essent, interpretabantur. Decem regum species erat multiplicatusque terror non infimis solum sed primoribus patrum, ratis caedis causam ac principium quaeri, ut, si quis memorem libertatis vocem aut in senatu aut in populo misisset, statim

2. **arbitris**: *witnesses.* — **inpotentibus**: *i.e.* plans in which there was no attempt at self-control or moderation. — **secreto ab**: Livy uses the adj. *secretus* with *ab* in several places, the adv. with *ab* apparently nowhere else. — **dissimulando**: see on 1, 5, 6 *conparando.* — **aditus**: gen. of quality. — **rem perduxere**: *continued their course.*

3. **sollemnes**: *fixed;* 1, 31, 4 *mansit certe sollemne, ut, quandoque idem prodigium nuntiaretur, feriae per novem dies agerentur.* The date of the beginning of the consular year was altered from time to time until in 154 B.C. it was fixed at January 1; see on 9, 8, 1. — **terroris**: obj. gen. with *denuntiatione.* — **ut . . . haberet**: the object of *servassent; had observed the rule that only one* etc. — **fasces**: see 2, 1, 8 and note. — **suam . . . vicem**: *to each in his own turn;* for the combination *suam cuiusque* see on 22, 7, 10; for the adverbial accusative *vicem* cf. 2, 31, 11, where it is used in a different sense.

4. **secures**: the consuls were not allowed to carry axes in the city; only a dictator had that privilege. See on 2, 1, 8. — **nec attinuisse . . . interpretabantur**: *they explained that there was no reason*

virgae securesque etiam ad ceterorum metum expedirentur. Nam praeterquam quod in populo nihil erat praesidi sublata provocatione, intercessionem quoque consensu sustulerant, cum priores decemviri appellatione collegae corrigi reddita ab se iura tulissent, et quaedam, quae sui iudici videri possent, ad populum reiecissent. Aliquamdiu aequatus inter omnes terror fuit; paulatim totus vertere in plebem coepit. Abstinebatur a patribus; in humiliores lubidinose crudeliterque consulebatur. Hominum, non causarum, toti erant, ut apud quos gratia vim aequi haberet. Iudicia domi conflabant, pronuntiabant in foro. Si quis collegam appellasset, ab eo, ad quem venerat, ita discedebat, ut paeniteret non prioris decreto stetisse. Opinio etiam sine auctore exierat non in praesentis modo temporis eos iniuriam conspirasse, sed foedus clandestinum inter ipsos iure iurando ictum, ne comitia haberent perpetuoque decemviratu possessum semel obtinerent imperium. 6 7 8 9

* * * * * * *

why the ax should be removed. *attinuisse* is the inf. of the impersonal verb *attinet, it is of importance*, and *demi securem* is its subject.

6. **appellatione**: see 3, 34, 8. — **collegae**: objective genitive; cf. Cic. *Quinct.* 65 *appellatio tribunorum.* — **quaedam**: see 3, 33, 10. — **possent**: see on 3, 34, 5.

7. **lubidinose**: *arbitrarily.* — **hominum, causarum**: possessive genitive; cf. 3, 59, 4 *quod adeo toti plebis fuissent*, and Cic. *Fam.* 15, 7 *sum totus vester.* The meaning is, They were influenced entirely by the rank of the individual concerned, not by the facts of the case. — **ut apud quos**: see on *Praef.* 4 *ut quae.* — **gratia**: *influence.*

8. **appellasset**: subj. of repeated action; the use of the imperf. and plup. subj. in this sense began with Catullus and Caesar, and is common in Livy; Lane, 1730. See on 27, 51, 4. — **stetisse**: *had been content with.*

9. **perpetuoque**: an adversative conjunction would have been more natural. — **possessum**: from *possido.*

Chapters 37–42 describe the oppressive rule of the decemvirs, the

1 **44.** Sequitur aliud in urbe nefas, ab libidine ortum, haud
449 B.C. minus foedo eventu quam quod per stuprum caedemque
Lucretiae urbe regnoque Tarquinios expulerat, ut non finis
solum idem decemviris, qui regibus, sed causa etiam eadem
imperi amittendi esset. Ap. Claudium virginis plebeiae
2 stuprandae libido cepit. Pater virginis, L. Verginius, ho-
nestum ordinem in Algido ducebat, vir exempli recti domi
militiaeque. Perinde uxor instituta fuerat liberique insti-
3 tuebantur. Desponderat filiam L. Icilio tribunicio, viro
4 acri et pro causa plebis expertae virtutis. Hanc virginem
adultam, forma excellentem, Appius amore amens pretio
ac spe perlicere adortus, postquam omnia pudore saepta
animadvertit, ad crudelem superbamque vim animum con-
5 vertit. M. Claudio clienti negotium dedit, ut virginem in
servitutem adsereret, neque cederet secundum libertatem

difficulty of enlisting an army to repel attacks of the Sabines and Aequians, and unsuccessful operations against those peoples. In chap. 43 there is an account of the murder of L. Siccius, a soldier in the army fighting against the Sabines, who was agitating the question of a secession of the people.

44. 1. **quod**: sc. *nefas*; subject of *expulerat*.

2. **honestum ordinem ducebat**: *was a centurion of high rank*; cf. 2, 23, 4. — **Algido**: he was serving against the Aequians, who had recently routed the Roman army on Mt. Algidus, near Tusculum. — **exempli recti**: *exemplary*; see on *Praef.* 10. — **perinde**: *i.e.* to be like himself. — **liberique instituebantur**: *his children were being trained*; so far as is known, Verginia was his only child; see 3, 45, 9.

3. **tribunicio**: see 3, 35, 5.

4. **spe**: *promises*.

5. **Claudio**: the client took the gentile name of his patron. In the earlier period, a client could not go to law in person, but was represented by his patron. It is doubtful when the privilege of independent action was secured. — **in servitutem adsereret**: a rare phrase, as the process itself was rare. On the other hand, *in libertatem adserere* or *adserere* alone, describing one of the regular methods of manumission, is of common occurrence. For the exact mean-

postulantibus vindicias, quod pater puellae abesset, locum iniuriae esse ratus. Virgini venienti in forum — ibi nam- 6
que in tabernaculis litterarum ludi erant — minister decemviri libidinis manum iniecit, serva sua natam servamque appellans, sequique se iubebat: cunctantem vi abstracturum. Pavida puella stupente, ad clamorem nutricis fidem 7
Quiritium inplorantis fit concursus. Vergini patris sponsique Icili populare nomen celebratur. Notos gratia eorum, turbam indignitas rei virgini conciliat. Iam a vi tuta erat, 8
cum adsertor nihil opus esse multitudine concitata ait: se iure grassari, non vi. Vocat puellam in ius. Auctoribus 9
qui aderant, ut sequeretur, ad tribunal Appi perventum est. Notam iudici fabulam petitor, quippe apud ipsum auctorem argumenti, peragit: puellam domi suae natam furtoque

ing of *adsereret*, cf. § 6 *manum iniecit*. — **neque** = *et ne*; see on 1, 2, 4; cf. 3, 52, 11. — **cederet . . . vindicias**: according to the Laws of the Twelve Tables (see § 12), until a case of this sort could be tried, the custody of the person was assigned to those who claimed that he was free, and they gave security for his appearance at the trial. In this case, Appius simply directed his client to disregard the law. — **secundum** = *in*; cf. 3, 45, 2. The literal meaning is, *that he should not yield to those who claimed her for freedom*; with *postulare vindicias*, *to lay claim*, cf. § 12 *vindicias det*.

6. **namque**: often in Livy the second word in the sentence; cf. 22, 50, 3; earlier prose writers placed it always first. — **tabernaculis**: schools in tents were evidently temporary affairs, intended for the poorer people. — **litterarum**: *reading and writing*.

7. **notos**: friends and acquaintances, contrasted with *turbam*. — **gratia eorum**: *regard for them*; *eorum* is objective genitive.

8. **adsertor**: *claimant*; cf. § 5 *adsereret*. — **grassari**: see on 2, 27, 7. He had attempted at first to take the girl by force, but now, on account of the threatened disturbance, was going through the form of a legal process.

9. **auctoribus**: note the verbal force of this noun; *those who were on her side advising her to follow*. Cf. the use of *transfuga* in 2, 1, 4. — **aderant**: sc. *puellae*; her supporters. — **fabulam, argumenti**: stage terms; see 7, 2, 8. *fabula* is the

10 inde in domum Vergini translatam suppositam ei esse; id se indicio conpertum adferre probaturumque vel ipso Verginio iudice, ad quem maior pars iniuriae eius pertineat;
11 interim dominum sequi ancillam aequum esse. Advocati puellae, cum Verginium rei publicae causa dixissent abesse,
12 biduo adfuturum, si nuntiatum ei sit, iniquum esse absentem de liberis dimicare, postulant, ut rem integram in patris adventum differat, lege ab ipso lata vindicias det secundum libertatem, neu patiatur virginem adultam famae prius quam libertatis periculum adire.

1 **45.** Appius decreto praefatur, quam libertati faverit, eam ipsam legem declarare, quam Vergini amici postulationi
2 suae praetendant; ceterum ita in ea firmum libertati fore praesidium, si nec causis nec personis variet; in iis enim qui adserantur in libertatem, quia quivis lege agere possit,

story of the play in detail; *argumentum* is the plot. — **suppositam ei esse**: *had been fraudulently represented to him as his child; i.e.* palmed off on Verginius as his own daughter.

10. **ad quem . . . pertineat**: he was injured more than any one else, as he had believed that the girl was his own child. — **interim**: until the case should be tried; see on § 5.

11. **advocati**: friends who aided her by their presence and advice. Under the empire the word was applied to lawyers who pleaded in court. — **Verginium . . . dimicare**: the omission of connectives gives a very businesslike appearance to this enumeration of facts.

12. **dimicare**: *to incur danger.* — **famae . . . adire**: she might be exposed to any indignity, before the question of her freedom was settled.

45. 1. **Appius . . . praefatur**: *before giving his decision, Appius said;* cf. 3, 47, 5. — **quam . . . faverit**: ind. quest. introduced by *declarare.* — **postulationi . . . praetendant**: *made the basis of their claim.*

2. **ita**: refers forward to *si . . . variet; only on this condition.* — **variet**: for this rare intrans. use cf. 21, 28, 5. — **in iis**: *in the case of those.* — **lege agere**: *bring suit*, to establish the freedom of the individual. The emphasis is on *quivis;* a distinction is set up between the ordinary case, in which any one may introduce the claim,

id iuris esse; in ea quae in patris manu sit, neminem esse alium, cui dominus possessione cedat; placere itaque pa- 3
trem arcessiri, interea iuris sui iacturam adsertorem non facere, quin ducat puellam sistendamque in adventum eius, qui pater dicatur, promittat. Adversus iniuriam decreti 4
cum multi magis fremerent quam quisquam unus recusare auderet, P. Numitorius, puellae avus, et sponsus Icilius interveniunt; dataque inter turbam via, cum multitudo 5
Icili maxime interventu resisti posse Appio crederet, lictor decresse ait, vociferantemque Icilium submovet. Placidum 6
quoque ingenium tam atrox iniuria accendisset. "Ferro hinc tibi submovendus sum, Appi," inquit, "ut tacitum

and the present case in which Verginia is demanded as a slave, and according to Appius, only her father can assert her freedom and have custody until the decision of the case. Until his return, therefore, for lack of other guardian, she must be consigned to the one who claims to be her master. — **id**: *i.e. lege agere.* — **iuris**: possessive genitive; *within the law, legal.*

3. **placere**: here begins the decree; a verb of saying must be supplied, as, otherwise, this would depend upon *praefatur* in § 1, which would be an absurdity. — **arcessiri**: the fourth conj. form of this inf. is not found elsewhere in Livy. — **adsertorem**: M. Claudius. — **quin**: justified by the idea of the principal clause, *should not be prevented from;* Lane, 1986. — **sistendam . . . eius**: *should be produced for his arrival; sistendam* instead of the more natural fut. act. inf., either because the latter form of *sistere* did not exist, or to emphasize the idea of obligation.

4. **iniuriam**: there was danger that the same thing might befall any Roman citizen in the absence of his father. — **quisquam unus**: *any single man; i.e.* even one. Cf. 2, 9, 8 *nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset, quam tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.* — **recusare**: either intrans., *to protest*, or sc. *iniuriam.*

5. **cum . . . crederet**: explanatory of *data . . . via.* — **decresse**: without a subject, representing the lictor's *decrevit.* — **submovet**: conative; the word is used technically of the lictor when he clears the road; cf. 3, 48, 3.

6. **tacitum**: passive, qualifying the object of *feras; that you may*

feras quod celari vis. Virginem ego hanc sum ducturus
7 nuptamque pudicam habiturus. Proinde omnes collegarum quoque lictores convoca; expediri virgas et secures iube;
8 non manebit extra domum patris sponsa Icili. Non, si tribunicium auxilium et provocationem plebi Romanae, duas arces libertatis tuendae, ademistis, ideo in liberos quoque nostros coniugesque regnum vestrae libidini datum
9 est. Saevite in tergum et in cervices nostras; pudicitia saltem in tuto sit. Huic si vis adferetur, ego praesentium Quiritium pro sponsa, Verginius militum pro unica filia, omnes deorum hominumque inplorabimus fidem, neque tu
10 istud umquam decretum sine caede nostra referes. Postulo, Appi, etiam atque etiam consideres, quo progrediare.
11 Verginius viderit de filia, ubi venerit, quid agat; hoc tantum sciat, sibi, si huius vindiciis cesserit, condicionem filiae quaerendam esse. Me vindicantem sponsam in libertatem vita citius deseret quam fides."

1 **46.** Concitata multitudo erat certamenque instare videbatur. Lictores Icilium circumsteterant; nec ultra minas

carry through in silence. — **virginem**: note the significance of the position.

8. arces: cf. 7, 29, 6.

9. in tuto: see on *Praef.* 3 *in obscuro.* — **huic**: Verginia. — **fidem**: *protection.* — **referes**: two interpretations have been suggested; one, that the verb means *to renew, i.e.* that Appius will not repeat to him what he has said to the *advocati* and persist in his decree; the other, that *decretum referes* is suggested and explained by the common phrase *victoriam referre.*

11. viderit: hortatory subjunctive. — **huius**: M. Claudius. Appius had already admitted that the father, if present, should have the custody of his daughter until the trial, but apparently Icilius put no faith in this promise. — **condicionem**: *match.* — **fides**: his fidelity to her; the meaning is, While I am responsible for her freedom, I shall die rather than betray the trust.

46. 1. nec: *but not*; cf. 1, 27, 1 and 21, 44, 5 *neque.*

2. tribunatum . . . spirantem: see 3, 44, 3. The phrase is poeti-

tamen processum est, cum Appius non Verginiam defendi 2
ab Icilio, sed inquietum hominem et tribunatum etiam nunc
spirantem locum seditionis quaerere diceret. Non prae- 3
biturum se illi eo die materiam; sed ut iam sciret non id
petulantiae suae, sed Verginio absenti et patrio nomini et
libertati datum, ius eo die se non dicturum neque decretum
interpositurum; a M. Claudio petiturum, ut decederet iure
suo vindicarique puellam in posterum diem pateretur; quod 4
nisi pater postero die adfuisset, denuntiare se Icilio simili-
busque Icili neque legi suae latorem neque decemviro
constantiam defore; nec se utique collegarum lictores con-
vocaturum ad coercendos seditionis auctores; contentum
se suis lictoribus fore. Cum dilatum tempus iniuriae esset 5
secessissentque advocati puellae, placuit omnium primum
fratrem Icili filiumque Numitori, inpigros iuvenes, pergere
inde recta ad portam, et, quantum adcelerari posset, Ver-
ginium acciri e castris: in eo verti puellae salutem, si pos- 6
tero die vindex iniuriae ad tempus praesto esset. Iussi
pergunt citatisque equis nuntium ad patrem perferunt.
Cum instaret adsertor puellae, ut vindicaret sponsoresque 7

cal; Hor. *Od.* 4, 13, 19 *quae spirabat amores.* — **locum**: *opportunity*; cf. 3, 50, 14.

3. **materiam**: sc. *seditionis.* — **ius dicturum**: *give a decision*; *i.e.* he would withdraw his decree and Verginia would be free until the next day. — **decederet iure**: cf. 3, 33, 10. — **vindicari**: sc. *in libertatem.*

4. **quod**: *but.* — **defore**: see on 3, 50, 10.

5. **dilatum tempus**: cf. 27, 46, 7. — **placuit**: *it was decided.* — **pergere . . . acciri**: see on 1, 5, 4 *fieri . . . agere.* — **portam**: the Porta Capena; they would follow the course of the Via Latina. The camp was perhaps fifteen miles from Rome.

6. **in eo**: see on 3, 45, 2 *ita*; *the safety of the girl turned on this.* Cf. 35, 18, 8 *in eo enim victoriam verti, si et loca opportuna et socii praeoccuparentur.* — **vindex iniuriae**: *he who would protect her from injury.*

7. **ut vindicaret . . . daret**:

daret, atque id ipsum agi diceret Icilius, sedulo tempus terens, dum praeciperent iter nuntii missi in castra, manus tollere undique multitudo et se quisque paratum ad spon-
8 dendum Icilio ostendere. Atque ille lacrimabundus "gratum est" inquit; "crastina die vestra opera utar, sponsorum nunc satis est." Ita vindicatur Verginia spondentibus
9 propinquis. Appius paulisper moratus, ne eius rei causa sedisse videretur, postquam omissis rebus aliis prae cura unius nemo adibat, domum se recepit collegisque in castra scribit, ne Verginio commeatum dent atque etiam in cus-
10 todia habeant. Inprobum consilium serum, ut debuit, fuit, et iam commeatu sumpto profectus Verginius prima vigilia erat, cum postero die mane de retinendo eo nequiquam litterae redduntur.

1 47. At in urbe prima luce cum civitas in foro expectatione erecta staret, Verginius sordidatus filiam secum ob-

there has been no formal decision, but M. Claudius interprets the words of Appius as allowing the *vindiciae secundum libertatem*; see on 3, 44, 5. Therefore he expects Icilius to act as the defendant and to offer surety that the girl will be produced on the following day. — **atque . . . Icilius**: *and when Icilius said that that was the very thing which was being done*; *i.e.* he pretended that he was looking for *sponsores*. — **tempus terens**: he understands that as soon as Appius leaves the tribunal, he will send an order that Verginius shall not be allowed to leave the camp. — **praeciperent iter**; 39, 19, 9 *aliquantum viae praeceperat rex*.

8. **crastina**: *dies* is rarely feminine; cf. 5, 42, 2.

9. **sedisse**: used technically of a judge, as in English; cf. 38, 51, 6 *consederunt*. — **prae**: see on 1, 29, 3. — **adibat**: the imperf. with *postquam* usually denotes the cause of the main action; cf. 45, 1, 4. Lane, 1930.

10. **prima vigilia**: the evening of the same day. — **redduntur**: the clause is not temporal, but contains the main idea; it therefore has the indic. and is put last. Lane, 1869.

47. 1. **civitas**: *the citizens*; 2, 37, 5 *spectaculo intenta civitas erit*. — **sordidatus, obsoleta**: mourning was indicated not so much by the

soleta veste, comitantibus aliquot matronis, cum ingenti advocatione in forum deducit. Circumire ibi et prensare homines coepit et non orare solum precariam opem, sed pro debita petere: se pro liberis eorum ac coniugibus cotidie in acie stare, nec alium virum esse, cuius strenue ac fortiter facta in bello plura memorari possent; quid prodesse, si incolumi urbe, quae capta ultima timeantur, liberis suis sint patienda? Haec prope contionabundus circumibat homines. Similia his ab Icilio iactabantur. Comitatus muliebris plus tacito fletu quam ulla vox movebat. Adversus quae omnia obstinato animo Appius — tanta vis amentiae verius quam amoris mentem turbaverat — in tribunal escendit, et ultro querente pauca petitore, quod *ius* sibi pridie per ambitionem dictum non esset, priusquam aut ille postulatum perageret, aut Verginio respondendi daretur

color of the garments, though that was commonly black (see 45, 7, 4), as by a studied carelessness in dress and in the care of the body. Such an appearance might indicate, as it does here, not mourning, but serious danger. So, in 6, 20, 1, Manlius appears at his trial *sordidatus*, and Livy, commenting upon the fact that none of his relatives were with him, says, *quod ad eum diem numquam usu venisset, ut in tanto discrimine non et proximi vestem mutarent.* — **advocatione**: abstract for concrete, like *civitas*; cf. 27, 51, 1, *aetas*; 39, 40, 9 *nobilitas*.

2. **precariam**: *voluntary*, as opposed to *pro debita*. — **ultima**: pred. adj. agreeing with *quae*; for the meaning cf. 21, 41, 11. The relative clause is the subject of *sint patienda*.

3. **haec**: object of *contionabundus*, which is used like a participle. **prope contionabundus**: *almost as if he were addressing an assembly*.

4. **comitatus . . . movebat**: Morgan (see on *Praef.* 1) suggests that Livy had in mind an iambic trimeter verse, *Plus tácito fletu múlier quam ulla vóx movet.* — **movebat**: this absolute use of *moveo* is common in Livy. — **ultro**: see on 1, 5, 3. — **pauca**: cognate accusative; cf. 22, 3, 11 *haec . . . increpans*. — **per ambitionem**: he claims that Appius was influenced by a love of popularity; cf. the meaning of *circumibat* in § 3.

5 locus, Appius interfatur. Quem decreto sermonem praetenderit, forsan aliquem verum auctores antiqui tradiderint; quia nusquam ullum in tanta foeditate decreti veri similem invenio, id quod constat nudum videtur proponendum, de-
6 cresse vindicias secundum servitutem. Primo stupor omnes admiratione rei tam atrocis defixit; silentium inde aliquamdiu tenuit. Dein, cum M. Claudius, circumstantibus matronis, iret ad prehendendam virginem, lamentabilisque eum mulierum conploratio excepisset, Verginius intentans
7 in Appium manus "Icilio," inquit, "Appi, non tibi filiam despondi, et ad nuptias, non ad stuprum educavi. Placet pecudum ferarumque ritu promiscue in concubitus ruere? Passurine haec isti sint, nescio; non spero esse passuros
8 illos qui arma habent." Cum repelleretur adsertor virginis a globo mulierum circumstantiumque advocatorum, silentium factum per praeconem.

1 **48.** Decemvir alienatus ad libidinem animo, negat ex hesterno tantum convicio Icili violentiaque Vergini, cuius

5. decreto . . . praetenderit: cf. 3, 45, 1. The connection of the ind. quest. with the verb on which it depends, *tradiderint*, is somewhat broken by the insertion of *aliquem verum*. — **tradiderint**: subj. of action conceivable in past time, — a rare use of the perfect; Lane, 1554, 1557. — **in**: *in view of*. — **vindicias . . . servitutem**: this is simply a violation of his own law (3, 44, 12), made necessary by the unexpected appearance of Verginius. How he justified it, if at all, we are not told.

6. stupor . . . defixit: cf. 1, 29, 3; 5, 39, 1. — **tenuit**: *continued*; for the intrans. use cf. 1, 4, 6.

7. ferarumque ritu: 4, 2, 6 *ut ferarum prope ritu vulgentur concubitus plebis patrumque*. — **isti**: the bystanders.

8. advocatorum: see on 3, 44, 11.

48. 1. alienatus: cf. the phrases *not himself, beside himself*. — **ad**: *in consequence of*; cf. 1, 7, 7 *ad desiderium . . . relictarum mugissent; ad*, however, in this sense almost always introduces an external cause (see § 6), and it is possible that the meaning here is *estranged* from other things and

testem populum Romanum habeat, sed certis quoque indiciis conpertum se habere, nocte tota coetus in urbe factos esse ad movendam seditionem. Itaque se haud inscium 2
eius dimicationis cum armatis descendisse, non ut quemquam quietum violaret, sed ut turbantes civitatis otium pro maiestate imperi coerceret. "Proinde quiesse erit melius; 3
i," inquit, "lictor, submove turbam, et da viam domino ad prendendum mancipium." Cum haec intonuisset plenus irae, multitudo ipsa se sua sponte dimovit, desertaque praeda iniuriae puella stabat. Tum Verginius, ubi nihil usquam 4
auxili vidit, "quaeso," inquit, "Appi, primum ignosce patrio dolori, si quo inclementius in te sum invectus; deinde sinas hic coram virgine nutricem percontari, quid hoc rei sit, ut, si falso pater dictus sum, aequiore hinc animo discedam." Data venia seducit filiam ac nutricem prope 5
Cloacinae ad tabernas, quibus nunc novis est nomen, atque

given *to lust*. — **negat . . . tantum** = *dicit non . . . tantum*. — **conpertum . . . habere**: according to Lane, 2297, such a combination expresses an action that continues in its consequences; cf. 21, 40, 5.

2. **dimicationis**: *danger*; cf. the meaning of *dimicare* in 3, 44, 12. — **descendisse**: the Forum was surrounded by hills, on one of which Appius evidently lived.

3. **da viam**: *dare* is here used in the sense of *facere*; see on 5, 38, 3. — **haec**: cognate accusative; *intonare* is an intrans. verb. — **praeda**: in app. with *puella*. — **iniuriae**: a striking instance of the use of the abstract for the concrete; cf. 3, 47, 1 *advocatione*. The genitive is possessive.

4. **quo**: abl. of measure of difference; *in any degree too unkindly*.

5. **Cloacinae**: sc. *aedem*; so, in English, we say "to St. Peter's." This was the shrine of Venus Cloacina on the north side of the Forum. According to Pliny 15, 119 the name is derived from an old verb *cluere* = *purgare*, and was given to Venus because at this place, before their union, the Romans and Sabines under Romulus and Titus Tatius were purified with myrtle, which was sacred to Venus. — **tabernas**: in the republican period there was a row of shops on the southern and another on the northern side of the Forum; the former were called *tabernae veteres*, the latter, in Livy's time,

ibi ab lanio cultro adrepto "hoc te uno quo possum" ait "modo, filia, in libertatem vindico." Pectus deinde puellae transfigit respectansque ad tribunal "te," inquit, "Appi,
6 tuumque caput sanguine hoc consecro." Clamore ad tam atrox facinus orto excitus Appius conprendi Verginium iubet. Ille ferro quacumque ibat viam facere, donec multitudine etiam prosequentium tuente ad portam perrexit.
7 Icilius Numitoriusque exsangue corpus sublatum ostentant populo; scelus Appi, puellae infelicem formam, necessita-
8 tem patris deplorant. Sequentes clamitant matronae, eamne liberorum procreandorum condicionem, ea pudicitiae praemia esse? cetera, quae in tali re muliebris dolor, quo est maestior inbecillo animo, eo miserabilia magis querentibus
9 subicit. Virorum et maxime Icili vox tota tribuniciae potestatis ac provocationis ad populum ereptae publicarumque indignationum erat.

1 **49.** Concitatur multitudo partim atrocitate sceleris, par-
2 tim spe per occasionem repetendae libertatis. Appius

having probably been rebuilt after a fire, *tabernae novae* or, from the fact that they were used by bankers, *tabernae argentariae* (see 26, 11, 7). — **novis**: attracted into the case of *quibus*; see on 1, 1, 3 *Troiano*. — **caput**: *life*: cf. 3, 55, 7 *qui tribunis plebis, aedilibus, iudicibus decemviris nocuisset, eius caput Iovi sacrum esset*; also 30, 20, 7.

6. **etiam**: *i.e.* these *also*, besides his sword.

8. **clamitant**: there are two objects, the ind. disc. *eamne . . . esse*, and the acc. *cetera*. — **quae . . . subicit**: *which on such an occasion womanly grief suggests to those in distress, the more pitiful as grief in a weak mind is more intense.*

9. **virorum . . . vox tota**: *all the talk of the men was of the loss* etc. The genitives *potestatis*, *provocationis*, and *indignationum* are possessive. — **publicarum indignationum**: *public expressions of indignation*; cf. 38, 53, 1 and, for the use of the plural, cf. 5, 39, 5 *luctus*; 22, 7, 12 *gaudia et luctus*. It is doubtful whether *indignatio* ever means *indignity*, *a cause for indignation*.

49. 1. **sceleris**: of Verginius.

2. **nunc . . . nunc**: these correlatives make the description a very

nunc vocari Icilium, nunc retractantem adripi, postremo, cum locus adeundi apparitoribus non daretur, ipse cum agmine patriciorum iuvenum per turbam vadens in vincula duci iubet. Iam circa Icilium non solum multitudo sed 3
duces quoque multitudinis erant, L. Valerius et M. Horatius, qui repulso lictore, si iure ageret, vindicare se a privato Icilium aiebant; si vim adferre conaretur, ibi quoque haud inpares fore. Hinc atrox rixa oritur. Valerium Horatiumque lictor decemviri invadit; franguntur a multitudine fasces. In contionem Appius escendit; secuntur Horatius Valeriusque. Eos contio audit; decemviro obstrepitur. Iam pro 5
imperio Valerius decedere a privato lictores iubebat, cum fractis animis Appius vitae metuens in domum se propinquam foro, insciis adversariis, capite obvoluto recipit. Sp. 6
Oppius, ut auxilio collegae esset, in forum ex altera parte inrumpit. Videt imperium vi victum. Agitatus deinde consiliis atque ex omni parte adsentiendo multis auctoribus

vivid one. — **apparitoribus**: a general term, including *praecones*, *scribae*, etc., as well as lictors.

3. **L. Valerius et M. Horatius**: they had already made themselves conspicuous by active opposition to the decemvirs. — **ageret**: sc. *Appius*. — **a privato**: it was now the middle of the year 449, the third year of the decemvirate, but there had been no election for this year; they claimed, therefore, that Appius was a private citizen, inasmuch as his year of office had expired and there had been no new appointment; that, therefore, he had not this power of summary arrest. — **fore**: sc. *se*.

4. **contionem**: the word has three distinct meanings, — an *assembly*, a *speech*, and, rarely, a *place for speaking*; the first and third occur in this passage; see on 2, 24, 6.

5. **pro imperio**: *as if he had the imperium*. — **animis**: see on 1, 25, 3. — **vitae**: dat. of interest; cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1, 186 *inopi metuens formica senectae*.

6. **atque**: connecting *agitatus* and *adsentiendo*; *confused then in his purpose and agreeing with many advisers on every hand, he had hesitated*. The plup. is used because the writer already has in mind the ultimate decision; see

7 trepidaverat; senatum postremo vocari iussit. Ea res, quod magnae parti patrum displicere acta decemvirorum videbantur, spe per senatum finiendae potestatis eius multitudi-
8 nem sedavit. Senatus nec plebem inritandam censuit et multo magis providendum, ne quid Vergini adventus in exercitu motus faceret.

1 **50.** Itaque missi iuniores patrum in castra, quae tum in monte Vecilio erant, nuntiant decemviris, ut omni ope ab
2 seditione milites contineant. Ibi Verginius maiorem, quam
3 reliquerat in urbe, motum excivit. Nam praeterquam quod agmine prope quadringentorum hominum veniens, qui ab urbe indignitate rei accensi comites ei se dederant, conspectus est, strictum etiam telum respersusque ipse cruore tota in se castra convertit. Et togae multifariam in castris visae maioris aliquanto quam erat speciem urbanae multitu-
4 dinis fecerant. Quaerentibus quid rei esset, flens diu vocem non misit; tandem, ut iam ex trepidatione concurrentium turba constitit ac silentium fuit, ordine cuncta, ut gesta
5 erant, exposuit. Supinas deinde tendens manus, commilitones appellans orabat, ne, quod scelus Ap. Claudi esset,

on 1, 7, 1 *consalutaverat*. — **adsentiendo**: see on 1, 5, 6 *comparando*.

8. nec . . . et = *et non . . . et*; cf. 1, 4, 4.

50. 1. **iuniores**: cf. 2, 30, 4 *senioribus patrum*. — **monte Vecilio**: the location is unknown; according to Dion. Hal. 11, 40 and Diod. 12, 24 the army was still on Mt. Algidus, and this may have been a part of that mountain. — **decemviris**: five of the decemvirs were fighting against the Aequians.

2. **quam reliquerat**: brachylogy for *quam is erat quem reliquerat*.

3. **agmine**: abl. of accompaniment; for a different use cf. § 13 and see on 1, 6, 2. — **conspectus est**: *attracted attention*; cf. 21, 4, 8 *arma atque equi conspiciebantur*; 45, 7, 3. — **strictum, respersus**: these are the emphatic words; cf. 3, 48, 9 *ereptae*.

4. **quaerentibus**: see on 2, 23, 5 *sciscitantibus*.

5. **supinas**: with the palms upward in the attitude of prayer; cf.

sibi adtribuerent neu se ut parricidam liberum aversarentur: sibi vitam filiae sua cariorem fuisse, si liberae ac pudicae vivere licitum fuisset; cum velut servam ad stuprum rapi videret, morte amitti melius ratum quam contumelia liberos, misericordia se in speciem crudelitatis lapsum. Nec se superstitem filiae futurum fuisse, nisi spem ulciscendae mortis eius in auxilio commilitonum habuisset. Illis quoque enim filias, sorores coniugesque esse, nec cum filia sua libidinem Ap. Claudi extinctam esse, sed quo inpunitior sit, eo effrenatiorem fore. Aliena calamitate documentum datum illis cavendae similis iniuriae. Quod ad se adtineat, uxorem sibi fato ereptam, filiam, quia non ultra pudica victura fuerit, miseram sed honestam mortem occubuisse. Non esse iam Appi libidini locum in domo sua; ab alia violentia eius eodem se animo suum corpus vindicaturum, quo vindicaverit filiae; ceteri sibi ac liberis suis consulerent. Haec Verginio vociferanti subclamabat multitudo, nec illius dolori nec suae libertati se defuturos. Et inmixti turbae militum togati simul eadem illa querendo

6 7 8 9 10

26, 9, 8. — **parricidam**: used here in a general sense, *murderer*.

6. **fuisse**: representing *fuit* in the direct form; Lane, 2103. — **liberae**: sc. *ei*; cf. 9, 4, 9 *armatis*.

7. **filiae**: Livy uses either gen. or dat. with *superstes*. — **enim**: in the third place because *quoque* cannot well be separated from *illis*; cf. 2, 18, 4 *id quoque enim traditur*. — **sit**: note the change to the primary sequence; see on 1, 27, 8.

8. **aliena . . . datum**: for the thought cf. 21, 34, 2. — **documentum**: *warning*; cf. *Praef.* 10 and 1, 28, 6. — **victura fuerit**: representing *victura fuit* in the direct form, the apodosis of a non-occurrent condition in past time; the protasis is contained in *ultra*.

10. **defuturos**: *i.e.* they would avenge his sorrow and maintain their own freedom, the verb having somewhat different meanings with the two nouns; cf. 3, 46, 4. — **togati**: this word and *insecuti* are the subjects of *pepulerunt*. — **eadem**: the object of *querendo*, serving also as the subject of *potuerint*. — **potuerint**: see on 3, 34, 5. — **profligatam**: *at its last gasp*;

docendoque, quanto visa quam audita indigniora potuerint videri, simul profligatam iam rem nuntiando Romae esse,
11 insecutique, qui Appium prope interemptum in exilium abisse dicerent, perpulerunt, ut ad arma conclamaretur
12 vellerentque signa et Romam proficiscerentur. Decemviri simul iis quae videbant iisque quae acta Romae audierant perturbati, alius in aliam partem castrorum ad sedandos motus discurrunt. Et leniter agentibus responsum non redditur; imperium si quis inhiberet, et viros et armatos se
13 esse respondetur. Eunt agmine ad urbem et Aventinum insidunt, ut quisque occurrerat, plebem ad repetendam libertatem creandosque tribunos plebis adhortantes. Alia vox nulla violenta audita est. Senatum Sp. Oppius habet.
14 Nihil placet aspere agi: quippe ab ipsis datum locum sedi-
15 tionis esse. Mittuntur tres legati consulares, Sp. Tarpeius, C. Iulius, P. Sulpicius, qui quaererent senatus verbis, cuius iussu castra deseruissent, aut quid sibi vellent, qui armati Aventinum obsedissent belloque averso ab hostibus patriam
16 suam cepissent. Non defuit quod responderetur; deerat qui daret responsum, nullodum certo duce, nec satis auden-

for a somewhat different meaning see 21, 40, 11. — **rem**: the decemvirate.

11. **vellerentque signa**: the usual preliminary to the march; cf. 5, 37, 4; 22, 3, 11.

12. **imperium inhiberet**: *exerted authority;* contrasted with *leniter agentibus;* for the mood see on 3, 36, 8.

13. **agmine**: abl. of manner; see on 1, 6, 2 and cf. § 3. — **ut . . . occurrerat**: connect with *adhortantes;* cf. 22, 46, 1 *ut quosque traduxerat* and see on 27, 51, 4. — **Sp. Oppius**: the only decemvir who had remained in the city with Appius.

15. **C. Julius**: one of the first decemvirs; see 3, 33, 3. — **senatus verbis**: *in the name of the senate;* cf. 7, 31, 10. — **quid sibi vellent**: cf. 3, 35, 5. — **bello . . . hostibus**: *abandoning the war against the enemy.* — **patriam**: see on 1, 1, 8.

16. **nullodum** = *nondum ullo*, a combination peculiar to Livy; cf. 3, 60, 10 *nec omnes dum.*

tibus singulis invidiae se offerre. Id modo a multitudine conclamatum est, ut L. Valerium et M. Horatium ad se mitterent: iis se daturos responsum.

51. Dimissis legatis admonet milites Verginius in re non 1
maxima paulo ante trepidatum esse, quia sine capite multitudo fuerit, responsumque, quamquam non inutiliter, fortuito tamen magis consensu quam communi consilio esse. Placere decem creari, qui summae rei praeessent, militari- 2
que honore tribunos militum appellari. Cum ad eum ipsum 3
primum is honos deferretur, "melioribus meis vestrisque rebus reservate" inquit "ista de me iudicia; nec mihi filia 4
inulta honorem ullum iucundum esse patitur, nec in perturbata re publica eos utile est praeesse vobis, qui proximi invidiae sint. Si quis usus mei est, nihilo minor ex privato 5
capietur." Ita decem numero tribunos militares creant. 6

Neque in Sabinis quievit exercitus. Ibi quoque auctore 7
Icilio Numitorioque secessio ab decemviris facta est, non minore motu animorum Sicci caedis memoria renovata, quam quem nova fama de virgine adeo foede ad libidinem petita accenderat. Icilius ubi audivit tribunos militum in 8

51. 1. **trepidatum esse**: *there had been embarrassment*, because there was no one to answer the representatives of the senate; for the meaning of the verb cf. 2, 28, 1.

2. **placere**: historical infinitive. — **decem**: the number was the same as that of the plebeian tribunes, which had been increased in 457 to ten. — **honore**: abl. of cause, elsewhere in Livy, in similar context, with the prep. *a*; cf. 1, 8, 7 *patres certe ab honore . . . appellati*. *militari* = an obj. gen.; *to do honor to the soldiers*.

3. **melioribus . . . rebus**: *for an occasion more happy for you and me*.

4. **proximi invidiae**: *most exposed to ill will*.

5. **ex privato**: sc. *me*.

7. **Icilio Numitorioque**: we are not told elsewhere that they had left the city. — **Sicci caedis**: see on chaps. 37–43. — **quem**: *i.e. motum animorum*.

8. **comitiorum**: the word is used

Aventino creatos, ne comitiorum militarium praerogativam urbana comitia iisdem tribunis plebis creandis sequerentur,
9 peritus rerum popularium inminensque ei potestati et ipse, priusquam iretur ad urbem, pari potestate eundem numerum
10 ab suis creandum curat. Porta Collina urbem intravere sub signis mediaque urbe agmine in Aventinum pergunt. Ibi coniuncti alteri exercitui viginti tribunis militum negotium dederunt, ut ex suo numero duos crearent, qui summae rerum praeessent. M. Oppium, Sex. Manilium creant.
11 Patres solliciti de summa rerum, cum senatus cotidie
12 esset, iurgiis saepius terunt tempus quam consiliis. Sicci caedes decemviris et Appiana libido et dedecora militiae obiciebantur. Placebat Valerium Horatiumque ire in Aventinum. Illi negabant se aliter ituros, quam si decemviri deponerent insignia magistratus eius, quo anno iam ante
13 abissent. Decemviri, querentes se in ordinem cogi, non ante quam perlatis legibus, quarum causa creati essent, deposituros imperium se aiebant.

loosely of the crowd of soldiers because they had elected the tribunes. — **praerogativam**: properly, the century to which it fell by lot to vote first; then, as here, the choice of those voting first. This was regarded by the superstitious Romans as an omen, and was likely to determine the result of an election. Cf. 21, 3, 1 *haud dubia res fuit, quin praerogativam militarem . . . favor plebis sequeretur.* — **tribunis plebis**: see on § 2 *decem.*

9. **inminens ei potestati**: *eager for that office;* that of *tribunus plebis.*

10. **porta Collina**: at the north-eastern corner of the Servian city; abl. of the way by which; so, *media urbe.* — **agmine**: see on 1, 6, 2. — **summae rerum**: *the conduct of affairs,* as in § 2; in the next section the same expression means *the State.*

12. **dedecora militiae**: *their lack of success in war.* — **quo**: the antecedent is *magistratus;* for the construction cf. 2, 27, 13 *magistratu.* Their term had expired at the end of the preceding year.

13. **in ordinem cogi**: see on 3, 35, 6.

52. Per M. Duillium, qui tribunus plebis fuerat, certior facta plebs contentionibus adsiduis nihil transigi, in Sacrum montem ex Aventino transit, adfirmante Duillio non prius quam deseri urbem videant, curam in animos patrum descensuram; admoniturum Sacrum montem constantiae plebis, sciturosque, sine restituta potestate *tribunicia* redigi in concordiam resne queant. Via Nomentana, cui tum Ficulensi nomen fuit, profecti castra in monte Sacro locavere, modestiam patrum suorum nihil violando imitati. Secuta exercitum plebs, nullo, qui per aetatem ire posset, retractante. Prosecuntur coniuges liberique, cuinam se relinquerent in ea urbe, in qua nec pudicitia nec libertas sancta esset, miserabiliter rogitantes.

Cum vasta Romae omnia insueta solitudo fecisset, in foro praeter paucos seniorum nemo esset, vocatis utique in senatum patribus desertum adparuisset forum, plures iam quam

52. 1. **M. Duillium**: cf. 3, 35, 5. — **Sacrum montem**: see 2, 32, 2 and note.

2. **admoniturum**: sc. *patres* as object of this verb and as subject of *scituros*.

3. **via Nomentana**: this began at the *porta Collina*; see on 3, 51, 10. — **Ficulensi**: so named from the old town Ficulea mentioned in 1, 38, 4. — **monte Sacro**: the order is unusual; see § 2. — **modestiam . . . imitati**: see 2, 32, 4. — **plebs**: *i.e.* those not belonging to the army.

4. **rogitantes**: see on 1, 29, 3 and cf. the scene described in 5, 40, 3.

5. **vasta**: used in its original meaning, *empty*, suggesting the desolate appearance of the city, while *solitudo* is a colorless word, indicating only a lack of people; cf. 1, 4, 6. — **insueta**: used absolutely as in 21, 35, 3. — **fecisset . . . esset . . . adparuisset**: asyndeton is common between clauses introduced by *cum*, the temporal conjunction appearing only with the first or being repeated; cf. 22, 49, 4. — **seniorum**: unable on account of their age to leave the city. — **vocatis . . . forum**: *especially when the senators were summoned to the senate-house, the Forum appeared deserted.*

6. **ruere ac deflagrare**: not a

6 Horatius ac Valerius vociferabantur: "Quid expectabitis, patres conscripti? Si decemviri finem pertinaciae non faciunt, ruere ac deflagrare omnia passuri estis? Quod autem istud imperium est, decemviri, quod amplexi tenetis? Tec-
7 tis ac parietibus iura dicturi estis? Non pudet lictorum vestrorum maiorem prope numerum in foro conspici quam togatorum aliorum? Quid, si hostes ad urbem veniant, facturi estis? Quid, si plebs mox, ubi parum secessione moveamur, armata veniat? Occasune urbis vultis finire impe-
8 rium? Atqui aut plebs non est habenda aut habendi sunt tribuni plebis. Nos citius caruerimus patriciis magistrati-
9 bus quam illi plebeis. Novam inexpertamque eam potestatem eripuere patribus nostris; ne nunc dulcedine semel capti ferant desiderium, cum praesertim nec nos temperemus imperiis, quo minus illi auxili egeant." Cum haec ex
10 omni parte iactarentur, victi consensu decemviri futuros se,
11 quando ita videatur, in potestate patrum adfirmant. Id modo simul orant ac monent, ut ipsis ab invidia caveatur, nec suo sanguine ad supplicia patrum plebem adsuefaciant.

case of hysteron-proteron; after the fall of the building, the ruins catch fire and are destroyed.

7. **si hostes . . . veniant**: cf. 2, 32, 6.

8. **non est habenda**: *must be given up*; instead of *non habere*, another verb would naturally have been used, if Livy had not thought to gain emphasis by bringing together the negative and the affirmative of the same verb. — **caruerimus**: potential subjunctive.

9. **inexpertam**: used passively, as *experta* in 2, 29, 1. — **ne . . . ferant desiderium**: *still less would they bear the lack of it*; *ne* for the more usual *nedum*. — **cum praesertim**: always in this order in Livy. — **nec** = *non*: see on 1, 25, 10.

10. **quando**: used often by Livy for *quandoquidem*; with this exception, its use in this sense is confined almost entirely to poetry and post-Augustan prose; cf. 9, 8, 4. — **videatur**: for the tense see on 1, 28, 1 *vertat*; Lane, 1752.

11. **ut . . . caveatur**: *that they be protected from the animosity of the people*. — **ad supplicia**: there appears to be no other example of this construction with *adsuefacio*.

BOOK V

The Gallic Invasion. Battle of the Alia. Capture of Rome.

35. Tum Senones, recentissimi advenarum, ab Vtente 3
flumine usque ad Aesim fines habuere. Hanc gentem 391 B.C.
Clusium Romamque inde venisse conperio; id parum certum est, solamne an ab omnibus Cisalpinorum Gallorum populis adiutam.

Clusini novo bello exterriti, cum multitudinem, cum 4
formas hominum invisitatas cernerent et genus armorum, audirentque saepe ab iis cis Padum ultraque legiones Etruscorum fusas, quamquam adversus Romanos nullum cis ius societatis amicitiaeve erat, nisi quod Veientes consangui-

Book V. **35**[3]–**43**[5]; **46–49**. References: Dion. Hal. 13, 7–13. Diod. 14, 113–116. Plut. *Camillus*, 17–30. Niebuhr, 2, 512–580. Lewis, 2, 321–356. Ihne, 1, 263–276. Mommsen, 1, 419–432.

35. 3. **Senones**: from Gallia Lugdunensis, not far south of the Seine. — **recentissimi**: Livy has mentioned as earlier invaders Cenomani, Saluvii, Boii, Lingones, and many others who had come still earlier. — **Vtente**: the Utens or Utis, flowing into the Adriatic near Ravenna; now the Montone. — **Aesim**: flowing into the Adriatic near Ancona; now the Esino. The Senones established themselves south of the Gauls who had preceded them, the Lingones, on the coast of Umbria. — **habuere**: *took and held*, the first idea being only implied. — **Clusium**: in the east central part of Etruria, about eighty miles north of Rome. — **solamne . . . adiutam**: the construction of the ind. disc. introduced by *conperio* is continued, in spite of the fact that this is properly an indirect question.

4. **novo**: *strange*; cf. Hor. *Od.* 2, 15, 20 *templa novo decorare saxo*. — **genus armorum**: see 22, 46, 5. — **adversus**: *toward, with*; cf. 3, 33, 8; 45, 8, 4. The word indicates usually, as in the next clause, a hostile attitude rather than a friendly one. — **societatis**: formal alliance; **amicitiae**: a friendly relation. — **Veientes**: Veii had been taken by Camillus in 396. This had been the first conquest of the Romans outside of Latium, but it is evident that their power was already recognized.

neos adversus populum Romanum non defendissent, lega-
5 tos Romam, qui auxilium ab senatu peterent, misere. De auxilio nihil impetratum; legati *tres* M. Fabi Ambusti filii missi, qui senatus populi*que* Romani nomine agerent cum Gallis, ne, a quibus nullam iniuriam accepissent, socios po-
6 puli Romani atque amicos oppugnarent: Romanis eos bello quoque, si res cogat, tuendos esse; sed melius visum bellum ipsum amoveri, si posset, et Gallos, novam gentem, pace potius cognosci quam armis.

1 36. Mitis legatio, ni praeferoces legatos Gallisque magis quam Romanis similes habuisset. Quibus, postquam man-
2 data ediderunt in concilio Gallorum, datur responsum: etsi novum nomen audiant Romanorum, tamen credere viros fortes esse, quorum auxilium a Clusinis in re trepida sit
3 inploratum. Et quoniam legatione adversus se maluerint quam armis tueri socios, ne se quidem pacem quam illi adferant aspernari, si Gallis egentibus agro, quem latius possideant quam colant Clusini, partem finium concedant;

5. **de auxilio . . . impetratum**: this is decidedly inconsistent with the words of the Roman envoys in § 6 *Romanis . . . tuendos esse*. Livy may well have been in doubt as to the facts; according to Diod. 14, 113, the Roman envoys were sent only to discover the strength of the Gauls. — **socios . . . amicos**: to avoid an inconsistency (cf. § 4 *nullum . . . erat*), we must understand that the envoys from Clusium arranged with the senate terms of *societas* and *amicitia*.

36. 1. **mitis legatio**: sc. *erat; the purpose of the embassy was conciliatory, and it would have accomplished its purpose if* etc. For the form of the apodosis, see Lane, 2104, 2106.

2. **novum**: *for the first time*. — **credere, esse**: the subject of each inf. is omitted; cf. § 4 *velle*. — **in re trepida**: cf. 1, 27, 7.

3. **ne se quidem**: *i.e.* they, too, as well as the Romans, desired peace. — **Gallis**: used instead of *sibi*, to emphasize the contrast between the poverty of the Gauls and the superfluous wealth of the people of Clusium. Note the chiastic arrangement. — **concedant**: sc. *Clusini* as subject.

aliter pacem impetrari non posse. Et responsum coram 4
Romanis accipere velle, et, si negetur ager, coram iisdem
Romanis dimicaturos, ut nuntiare domum possent, quan-
tum Galli virtute ceteros mortales praestarent. Quodnam 5
id ius esset, agrum a possessoribus petere aut minari arma,
Romanis quaerentibus, et quid in Etruria rei Gallis esset,
cum illi se in armis ius ferre et omnia fortium virorum esse
ferociter dicerent, accensis utrimque animis ad arma discur-
ritur et proelium conseritur. Ibi, iam urgentibus Romanam 6
urbem fatis, legati contra ius gentium arma capiunt. Nec
id clam esse potuit, cum ante signa Etruscorum tres nobilis-
simi fortissimique Romanae iuventutis pugnarent; tantum
eminebat peregrina virtus. Quin etiam Q. Fabius evectus 7
extra aciem equo ducem Gallorum ferociter in ipsa signa
Etruscorum incursantem per latus transfixum hasta occidit;
spoliaque eius legentem Galli agnovere, perque totam aciem
Romanum legatum esse signum datum est. Omissa inde 8
in Clusinos ira, receptui canunt minantes Romanis. Erant
qui extemplo Romam eundum censerent; vicere seniores,

4. **negetur, possent**: such variation of tense in the subordinate clauses of ind. disc. is common, but it is often difficult to give a satisfactory explanation; see on 1, 27, 8. — **quantum**: for this acc. form used adverbially with a verb indicating comparison, cf. 5, 38, 4 *tantum* and 27, 47, 11 *quantum a mari abscedebat, tanto altioribus coercentibus amnem ripis non inveniret vada*. — **virtute . . . mortales**: for the construction cf. 7, 30, 4.

5. **quaerentibus**: with two dependent questions, *quodnam . . . esset* and *quid . . . esset*. — **ferociter**: *boldly*. — **ad arma discurritur**: *they ran to arms*. The Gallic army and that of Clusium were apparently present at the interview.

6. **clam**: cf. 2, 23, 14 *prope*. — **ante signa**: *in the front rank*. It seems that on this occasion the front rank consisted of cavalry, as these young men would naturally have fought on horseback; see § 7 *equo*.

8. **ut . . . mitterentur**: a sub-

ut legati prius mitterentur questum iniurias postulatumque
9 ut pro iure gentium violato Fabii dederentur. Legati Gallorum cum ea, sicut erant mandata, exposuissent, senatui nec factum placebat Fabiorum, et ius postulare barbari videbantur. Sed ne id quod placebat decerneret in tantae
10 nobilitatis viris, ambitio obstabat. Itaque ne penes ipsos culpa esset, *si* clades forent Gallico bello acceptae, cognitionem de postulatis Gallorum ad populum reiciunt; ubi tanto plus gratia atque opes valuere, ut, quorum de poena agebatur, tribuni militum consulari potestate in insequentem
11 annum crearentur. Quo facto haud secus quam dignum erat infensi Galli bellum propalam minantes ad suos
12 redeunt. Tribuni militum cum tribus Fabiis creati Q. Sulpicius Longus, Q. Servilius quartum, P. Cornelius Maluginensis.

1 **37.** Cum tanta moles mali instaret — adeo obcaecat
390 B.C. animos fortuna, ubi vim suam ingruentem refringi non vult —, civitas, quae adversus Fidenatem ac Veientem hostem aliosque finitimos populos ultima experiens auxilia
2 dictatorem multis tempestatibus dixisset, ea tunc, invisitato

stantive clause, object of *vicere*, equivalent to an acc. of kindred meaning; cf. 9, 3, 8.

9. **nec . . . et**: see on 3, 49, 8. — **in**: *in the case of*; cf. 3, 45, 2. — **ambitio**: *interest*, *policy*; cf. 3, 47, 4. The senate did not want to offend the powerful Fabian *gens*.

10. **cognitionem**: *decision*, as well as *consideration*. — **reiciunt**: regularly used when a judicial body gives up its authority, in order to avoid responsibility; cf. 2, 28, 2. — **gratia**: *popularity*. — **quorum**: sc. the antecedent *ei* as subject of *crearentur*; *tribuni* is predicate nominative.

37. 1. **Fidenatem ac Veientem hostem**: the Romans had had constant wars with these two peoples until their final subjugation in 438 and 396 respectively. — **dixisset**: a relative clause of concession.

2. **ea**: modifying *civitas*, which is subject of *quaesivit*; cf. 1, 58, 11 *cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit.*

atque inaudito hoste ab Oceano terrarumque ultimis oris bellum ciente, nihil extraordinarii imperi aut auxili quaesivit. Tribuni, quorum temeritate bellum contractum erat, 3
summae rerum praeerant, dilectumque nihilo accuratiorem quam ad media bella haberi solitus erat, extenuantes etiam famam belli, habebant. Interim Galli, postquam accepere 4
ultro honorem habitum violatoribus iuris humani elusamque legationem suam esse, flagrantes ira, cuius inpotens est gens, confestim signis convulsis citato agmine iter
ingrediuntur. Ad quorum praetereuntium raptim tumultum cum exterritae urbes ad arma concurrerent fugaque agrestium fieret, Romam se ire magno clamore significabant, quacumque ibant, equis virisque longe ac late fuso 5
agmine inmensum obtinentes loci. Sed antecedente fama 6
nuntiisque Clusinorum, deinceps inde aliorum populorum, plurimum terroris Romam celeritas hostium tulit, quippe 7
quibus, velut tumultuario exercitu raptim ducto, aegre ad undecimum lapidem occursum est, qua flumen Alia, Crus-

ea emphasizes the fact that it was the same state which on other occasions had appointed a dictator. — **ab . . . oris**: referring to the Gauls in general. — **auxili**: *i.e.* they held no special levy.

3. **summae rerum**: see on 3, 51, 10. — **media**: cf. 2, 49, 5 *nihil medium . . . sed inmensa omnia volventium animo.*

4. **ultro**: see on 1, 5, 3. — **habitum**: for this use of *habere* in place of *dare* cf. 25, 31, 10; 45, 8, 8. — **cuius**: the gen. with *inpotens* is first found in Livy.

5. **ad**: see on 1, 25, 6; cf. 5, 47, 3. — **Romam**: note the emphatic position. — **equis virisque**: *cavalry and infantry*; cf. 21, 27, 1 *equites virique.*

6. **deinceps inde**: *then in succession*; not pleonastic.

7. **quippe quibus . . . est**: for the mood see on *Praef.* 2 and Lane, 1827. The indic. with *quippe qui* occurs four times in the first decade and twice in the remaining books (H. J. Mueller). — **tumultuario**: cf. 22, 45, 4; according to Plut. *Camil.* 18, a majority of the troops were inexperienced. — **aegre**: they would be anxious to stop the enemy as far as possible from Rome. — **lapidem**: on an

tuminis montibus praealto defluens alveo, haud multum
8 infra viam Tiberino amni miscetur. Iam omnia contra circaque hostium plena erant, et nata in vanos tumultus gens truci cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo cuncta conpleverant sono.

1 38. Ibi tribuni militum, non loco castris ante capto, non praemunito vallo, quo receptus esset, non deorum saltem, si non hominum, memores, nec auspicato nec litato instruunt aciem diductam in cornua, ne circumveniri
2 multitudine hostium possent; nec tamen aequari frontes poterant, cum extenuando infirmam et vix cohaerentem mediam aciem haberent. Paulum erat ab dextera editi loci, quem subsidiariis repleri placuit; eaque res (ut) ini-

early road following the line of the later Via Salaria, which began at the Colline Gate. — **Crustuminis**: though the exact site cannot be determined, Crustumerium was probably about eight miles northeast of Rome.

8. **contra circaque**: *in front and on each side.* — **nata**: cf. 9, 9, 11.

38. 1. **praemunito**: *constructed in advance.* — **receptus**: cf. 44, 39, 2 *maiores vestri castra munita portum ad omnes casus exercitus ducebant esse . . . quo iactati tempestate pugnae receptum haberent.* — **hominum**: the enemy. The thought is, If they had no fear of the enemy, it was equally true that they had no fear of the gods. **non . . . saltem** has almost the meaning of *ne . . . quidem.* — **litato**: *litare* ordinarily means *to get favorable omens from a sacrifice*, but, as it was the custom when the signs were unfavorable to repeat the sacrifice until good results were obtained, we may assume that on this occasion no sacrifice at all was offered; here, then, *litare* means *to sacrifice.* — **instruunt aciem**: the battle occurred, according to Livy and other authorities, on July 18; the *dies Aliensis* was afterwards declared a *dies religiosus.* — **diductam**: proleptic. They placed the ends of the line as far apart as possible and, to fill the gap, extended the centre, with the result described in the next section. Cf. 31, 21, 14 *ut extenuatam mediam diductis cornibus aciem Gallorum vidit.*

2. **aequari**: *i.e.* their line was not so long as that of the Gauls, although (*cum*) etc. — **ut initium**

tium pavoris ac fugae, sic una salus fugientibus fuit. Nam Brennus, regulus Gallorum, in paucitate hostium 3
artem maxime timens, ratus ad id captum superiorem locum, ut, ubi Galli cum acie legionum recta fronte concucurrissent, subsidia in aversos transversosque impetum darent, ad subsidiarios signa convertit, si eos loco depulisset, haud dubius facilem in aequo campi tantum superanti multitudine victoriam fore; adeo non fortuna modo 4
sed ratio etiam cum barbaris stabat. In altera acie nihil 5
simile Romanis, non apud duces, non apud milites erat. Pavor fugaque occupaverat animos et tanta omnium oblivio, ut multo maior pars Veios, in hostium urbem, cum Tiberis arceret, quam recto itinere Romam ad coniuges ac liberos fugerent. Parumper subsidiarios tutatus est 6
locus; in reliqua acie simul est clamor proximis ab latere, ultimis ab tergo auditus, ignotum hostem prius paene

. . . **fugientibus**: the Gauls first attacked this hill, and while the fight there was in progress, the rest of the Roman army made its escape.

3. **recta fronte**: cf. 22, 47, 2 *frontibus adversis*. — **in aversos transversosque**: *on their rear and flank*. — **darent**: *dare* is elsewhere used for *facere* in this phrase and others; cf. 3, 48, 3; 7, 2, 4; 21, 32, 8 *fugam stragemque dedissent*. — **si . . . depulisset**: the apodosis is *facilem . . . fore*.

4. **in aequo campi**: a phrase apparently without parallel, the intention being to emphasize the idea in *aequus; in view of the flatness of the field*. Livy uses very freely, instead of an attributive adj., a neut. adj., sing. or plur., with a genitive, but usually to express a partitive idea; cf. 5, 47, 6 *reliquum noctis;* 21, 34, 7 *extrema agminis;* 9, 3, 1 *adversa montium*. — **tantum**: see on 5, 36, 4. — **superanti**: better taken as a dat. referring to Brennus, though it may be regarded as an abl. abs. with *multitudine;* cf. 5, 21, 4 *superante multitudine*, and, for the form of the participle, 21, 43, 14 *ignoranti*.

5. **fuga**: see on 21, 29, 3. — **hostium urbem**: an inaccurate statement, as Veii had succumbed to Rome six years before.

6. **simul** = *simul ac*. — **proximis**: those nearest the hill; **ultimis**: those farthest away. Both

quam viderent, non modo non temptato certamine sed ne
7 clamore quidem reddito, integri intactique fugerunt. Nec
ulla caedes pugnantium fuit; terga caesa suomet ipsorum
8 certamine in turba impedientium fugam. Circa ripam
Tiberis, quo armis abiectis totum sinistrum cornu refugit,
magna strages facta est, multosque inperitos nandi aut
invalidos, graves loricis aliisque tegminibus, hausere gur-
9 gites. Maxima tamen pars incolumis Veios perfugit, unde
non modo praesidi quicquam sed ne nuntius quidem cla-
10 dis Romam est missus. Ab dextro cornu, quod procul a
flumine et magis sub monte steterat, Romam omnes pe-
tiere, et ne clausis quidem portis urbis in arcem confu-
gerunt.

1 39. Gallos quoque velut obstupefactos miraculum vic-
toriae tam repentinae tenuit, et ipsi pavore defixi primum
steterunt velut ignari quid accidisset; deinde insidias ve-
reri; postremo caesorum spolia legere armorumque cumu-
2 los, ut mos eis est, coacervare. Tum demum, postquam

are datives of agent; Lane, 1216. It is not clear how the Gauls had managed to reach the rear of the Roman left wing. — **non modo non**: usually the second *non* is omitted; cf. § 9 and see on 22, 3, 14.

7. **terga . . . fugam**: cf. 37, 43, 9 *erat sua ipsorum turba, cum solutis ordinibus velut caeci super alios alii ruerent*.

8. **circa** = *ad*; cf. 45, 2, 8. — **tegminibus**: *tegumentum* is the usual word in the prose of this period.

9. **non modo**: see on § 6.

10. **monte**: this can hardly be the elevation of § 2, but is rather one of the hills mentioned in the previous chapter, § 7. — **Romam . . . petiere**: Paul. Diac. p. 119 *Lucaria festa in luco colebant Romani, qui permagnus inter viam Salariam et Tiberim fuit, pro eo, quod victi a Gallis fugientes e proelio ibi se occultaverint*. — **arcem**: the Capitoline Hill.

39. 1. **quoque**: explained by *et ipsi . . . steterunt*; the Romans were paralyzed by defeat and fear, the Gauls by success.

2. **postquam**: *since*; see on 3, 46, 9. — **ante solis occasum**: according to Diod. 14, 115, the Gauls reached Rome on the second day

nihil usquam hostile cernebatur, viam ingressi, haud multo ante solis occasum ad urbem Romam perveniunt. Vbi cum praegressi equites non portas clausas, non stationem pro portis excubare, non armatos esse in muris rettulissent, aliud priori simile miraculum eos sustinuit; noctemque 3
veriti et ignotae situm urbis inter Romam atque Anienem consedere exploratoribus missis circa moenia aliasque portas, quaenam hostibus in perdita re consilia essent. Ro- 4
mani, cum pars maior ex acie Veios petisset quam Romam, nemo superesse quemquam praeter eos qui Romam refugerant crederet, conplorati omnes pariter vivi mortuique totam prope urbem lamentis inpleverunt. Privatos deinde 5
luctus stupefecit publicus pavor, postquam hostes adesse nuntiatum est. Mox ululatus cantusque dissonos vagantibus circa moenia turmatim barbaris audiebant. Omne inde 6

after the battle and then encamped outside the walls for two days. Livy implies in 5, 41, 4 that they entered the city on the day after the battle. — **non portas clausas**: Diod. says that the Gauls were obliged to break down the gates. — **sustinuit**: *checked*.

3. **aliasque portas**: other than those already visited.

4. **Romani . . . conplorati**: see on 1, 3, 4 *coloniam deductam*. Until we reach *conplorati*, we do not realize that *Romani* refers, not to the Romans in the city, whose condition Livy would naturally have described after speaking of the enemy outside the walls, but to those who had fought at the Alia. The unexpected is the more conspicuous in Livy, because his narrative ordinarily runs so smoothly. If there is anything illogical here, however, it is a matter of language only, for the sentence describes what was taking place in the city. — **petisset, crederet**: for the asyndeton see on 3, 52, 5; it should be noted that here the second clause indicates the result of the first. — **vivi mortuique**: those who had fled to Veii and those who had been killed at the Alia.

5. **luctus**: *expressions of grief*; cf. 3, 48, 9 *indignationum*. — **stupefecit**: *stifled*; the simple verb, except in the perf. part., is apparently not used elsewhere in prose. — **ululatus**: cf. the description of the Gauls in 21, 28, 1.

tempus suspensos ita tenuit animos usque ad lucem alteram, ut identidem iam in urbem futurus videretur impetus: primo adventu, quia accesserant ad urbem — mansuros
7 enim ad Aliam fuisse, nisi hoc consili foret; deinde sub occasum solis, quia haud multum diei supererat, ante noctem rati invasuros; tum in noctem dilatum consilium
8 esse, quo plus pavoris inferrent; postremo lux adpropinquans exanimare; timorique perpetuo ipsum malum continens fuit, cum signa infesta portis sunt inlata. Nequaquam tamen ea nocte neque insequenti die similis illi
9 quae ad Aliam tam pavide fugerat civitas fuit. Nam cum defendi urbem posse tam parva relicta manu spes nulla esset, placuit cum coniugibus ac liberis iuventutem militarem senatusque robur in arcem Capitoliumque concedere

6. identidem: they constantly found reason to fear that the attack would occur immediately (*iam*). *identidem* is explained in the following words by reference to four successive periods. — **primo adventu**: sc. *futurus videbatur impetus*. — **mansuros . . . foret**: ind. disc., justified by the idea of thinking implied in *videretur*; the ind. disc. is continued in the two following clauses, but, as if to explain their relation to the sentence, *rati* (*sunt*) is inserted.

7. sub occasum solis: soon after their arrival, for they reached the city not long before sunset; see § 2. For the meaning of *sub* see on 7, 31, 5. — **invasuros**: sc. *hostes* as subject.

8. exanimare: historical infinitive. — **continens fuit**: *followed close upon*; lit., *was adjoining*. Cf. 37, 40, 6 *continens his grex sedecim elephantorum*. — **similis . . . civitas**: cf. 5, 38, 5. — **pavide**: Livy has used here a very rare adverb when he might have used the adjective.

9. senatusque robur: the younger senators, whose aid in defense of the Capitoline would be valuable. — **arcem Capitoliumque**: the *arx* was the northern summit of the Capitoline Hill; the name *Capitolium* was applied to the whole hill, but also especially, as here, to the southern summit. On the former was the temple of Juno, the latter was almost entirely occupied by the great temple of Jupiter; cf. § 12 *sedes deorum*. Though practically inaccessible on

armisque et frumento conlato ex loco inde munito deos 10
hominesque et Romanum nomen defendere; flaminem 11
sacerdotesque Vestales sacra publica a caede, ab incendiis
procul auferre nec ante deseri cultum eorum quam non
superessent qui colerent. Si arx Capitoliumque, sedes 12
deorum, si senatus, caput publici consili, si militaris iuven-
tus superfuerit inminenti ruinae urbis, facilem iacturam
esse seniorum relictae in urbe utique perituraे turbae.
Et quo id aequiore animo de plebe multitudo ferret, senes 13
triumphales consularesque simul se cum illis palam dicere
obituros nec his corporibus quibus non arma ferre, non
tueri patriam possent onerаturos inopiam armatorum.

40. Haec inter seniores morti destinatos iactata sola- 1
cia. Versae inde adhortationes ad agmen iuvenum, quos
in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequebantur, commen-

the northwestern side, the hill was protected there by the wall of Servius Tullius, of which a fragment still remains. There were cliffs also on the southeastern side, which faced the Forum, but here the top of the hill was reached by the *Clivus Capitolinus*, which led from the Forum to the depression between the two summits.

10. **inde**: used in this way, it is almost equal to a demonstrative; *from that fortified place*; cf. 5, 43, 3.

11. **flaminem**: the *flamen Quirinalis*; see 5, 40, 7. There were three *flamines maiores*, — the *flamen Dialis* (of Jupiter), the *flamen Martialis*, and the *flamen Quirinalis*, — and twelve *flamines minores*, attached to less important divinities. — **sacerdotes Vestales**: usually called *virgines Vestales*, *Vestales*, or *virgines*. — **sacra publica**: these sacred objects were kept in the temple of Vesta with the greatest care and secrecy. What they were is unknown, but ancient writers mention most commonly the Trojan Palladium and Penates. Serv. *ad Aen.* 7, 188 gives a list of seven, including the ashes of Orestes, the sceptre of Priam, and the shields of Mars, but this is evidently a late invention.

12. **urbis**: the rest of the city, as distinct from the Capitoline. — **utique**: *anyway*.

13. **id**: referring to *perituraे*.

40. 1. **prosequebantur**: sc. *seniores* as subject. The repeti-

dantes virtuti eorum iuventaeque urbis, per trecentos sexaginta annos omnibus bellis victricis, quaecumque
2 reliqua esset fortuna. Digredientibus qui spem omnem atque opem secum ferebant ab his qui captae urbis non
3 superesse statuerant exitio, cum ipsa res speciesque miserabilis erat, tum muliebris fletus et concursatio incerta nunc hos nunc illos sequentium rogitantiumque viros natosque cui se fato darent, nihil quod humani superesset mali
4 relinquebant. Magna pars tamen earum in arcem suos persecutae sunt nec prohibente ullo nec vocante, quia, quod utile obsessis ad minuendam inbellem multitudinem,
5 id parum humanum erat. Alia maxime plebis turba, quam

tion of *in* makes it clear that the young men were distributed between the two summits. — **iuventae**: *youthful vigor;* the word is rarely used in this sense. — **urbis**: gen. with *fortunam*, which, however, instead of appearing in that form as object of *commendantes*, has been taken into the relative clause as its subject. — **trecentos sexaginta**: in round numbers; in 5, 54, 5 Camillus refers to this same year as the 365th of the city. — **omnibus bellis**: this statement is approximately true and is repeated in 7, 33, 6 *Romanis contra quadringentorum annorum decora et conditae urbi aequalis victoria.*

2. **urbis**: see on 5, 39, 12.

3. Livy is very effective in the description of such scenes as this; cf. 1, 29 and 22, 7. — **sequentium rogitantiumque**: sc. *mulierum* from *muliebris;* cf. 2, 53, 1 *Veiens bellum exortum, quibus Sabini arma coniunxerunt;* see on 21, 41, 4. — **rogitantium**: cf. 1, 29, 3; 3, 52, 4; 22, 7, 11 *sciscitantes;* this idea of constant and anxious questioning is prominent in such descriptions. — **nihil . . . relinquebant**: *i.e.* they reached the extreme of human misery.

4. **nec vocante**: this apparent indifference on the part of the defenders does not speak well for the family affection of the Romans. — **quia . . . erat**: explaining the fact that the women were neither urged nor forbidden to take refuge on the Capitoline; *because the thing that would have helped the besieged by diminishing the crowd of non-combatants was somewhat cruel.*

5. **maxime**: connect with *plebis; the rest of the crowd, mostly plebeians;* cf. 5, 7, 2 *multitudo facibus maxime armata.* — **exiguus collis**: the length of the

nec capere tam exiguus collis nec alere in tanta inopia frumenti poterat, ex urbe effusa velut agmine iam uno petiit Ianiculum. Inde pars per agros dilapsi, pars urbes 6
petunt finitimas, sine ullo duce aut consensu, suam quisque spem, sua consilia communibus deploratis sequentes. Flamen interim Quirinalis virginesque Vestales omissa 7
rerum suarum cura, quae sacrorum secum ferenda, quae, quia vires ad omnia ferenda deerant, relinquenda essent consultantes, quisve ea locus fideli adservaturus custodia 8
esset, optimum ducunt condita in doliolis sacello proximo aedibus flaminis Quirinalis, ubi nunc despui religio est, defodere; cetera inter se onere partito ferunt via quae Sublicio Ponte ducit ad Ianiculum. In eo clivo eas cum 9

Capitoline Hill, from northeast to southwest, is about one quarter of a mile, and the greatest width less than one eighth of a mile. — **in tanta inopia frumenti**: cf. 5, 48, 1; only a small amount could be collected in the short time allowed for these preparations. — **Ianiculum**: crossing the Tiber by the *Pons Sublicius*, the only bridge at that time, they would be at the foot of the Janiculum, which is considerably higher than any of the hills on the left bank.

6. **urbes**: of southern Etruria. — **deploratis**: *despaired of*; cf. 9, 7, 1; 26, 12, 4. The word appears not to have been used in this sense before Livy.

7. **omissa . . . cura**: *with no thought of their property*; the contrast is between their property and the sacred relics.

8. **doliolis**: rough earthen vessels. The place where these were buried, in the Forum Boarium near the river, was called *Doliola* and is described by Varro, *L.L.* 5, 157 *doliola ad cluacam maximam, ubi non licet despuere, a doliolis sub terra*. — **sacello**: Plut. *Camillus* 20 says they were buried under the temple of Quirinus, but the location of the temple, like that of the flamen's house, is unknown. — **despui religio est**: *it is a sacrilege to spit*. Besides this tradition connected with the place, it seems to have been the custom to bury here in earthen vessels offerings to the gods of the lower world; so there were religious scruples against profaning a holy place. — **Sublicio Ponte**: see on § 5.

9. **in eo clivo**: on the road which crossed the Janiculum. —

L. Albinius, de plebe [Romana] homo, conspexisset plaustro coniugem ac liberos avehens inter ceteram turbam quae
10 inutilis bello urbe excedebat, salvo etiam tum discrimine divinarum humanarumque rerum, religiosum ratus sacerdotes publicas sacraque populi Romani pedibus ire ferrique, se ac suos in vehiculo conspici, descendere uxorem ac pueros iussit, virgines sacraque in plaustrum inposuit et Caere, quo iter sacerdotibus erat, pervexit.

1 **41.** Romae interim satis iam omnibus ut in tali re ad tuendam arcem conpositis turba seniorum domos regressi adventum hostium obstinato ad mortem animo expectabant.
2 Qui eorum curules gesserant magistratus, ut in fortunae pristinae honorumque ac virtutis insignibus morerentur, quae augustissima vestis est tensas ducentibus triumphanti-

plaustro: a heavy, two-wheeled cart.

10. **religiosum**: for the meaning cf. *religio* in § 8. — **publicas**: the Vestals, having charge of the public hearth on which burned the eternal fire, were guardians of the welfare of the whole people. — **iri ferrique**: to be taken with *sacerdotes* and *sacra* respectively. — **Caere**: about twenty miles northwest of Rome near the coast of Etruria. Val. Max. 1, 1, 10 tells the story of Albinius and the reception of the Vestals by the people of Caere, and adds that, in recognition of their kindness, sacred rites were henceforth called *caerimoniae*.

41. 1. **ut in tali re**: restricting both *omnibus* and *conpositis*; see on 1, 3, 3 and cf. 21, 34, 1. — **arcem**: used here of the whole hill; see on 5, 39, 9. — **turba . . . expectabant**: see on 2, 28, 9 *convolavere*.

2. **curules magistratus**: offices which gave the *imperium* and the right to use the curule chair, — at this time those of dictator, consul, censor, and master of horse; later, the praetorship and the curule aedileship were instituted as curule offices, though the latter did not carry the *imperium*. — **augustissima vestis**: the *toga picta*, of purple embroidered with gold, and the *tunica palmata*, embroidered with palm branches. For the construction see on *Praef.* 11 *in quam civitatem*. — **tensas**: the cars on which the images of the gods were carried to the games in the Circus. The magistrates con-

busve, ea vestiti medio aedium eburneis sellis sedere. Sunt 3
qui M. Folio pontifice maximo praefante carmen devovisse
eos se pro patria Quiritibusque Romanis tradant. Galli et 4
quia interposita nocte a contentione pugnae remiserant ani-
mos et quod nec in acie ancipiti usquam certaverant proelio
nec tum impetu aut vi capiebant urbem, sine ira, sine ardore
animorum ingressi postero die urbem patente Collina porta
in forum perveniunt, circumferentes oculos ad templa deum
arcemque solam belli speciem tenentem. Inde modico re- 5
licto praesidio, ne quis in dissipatos ex arce aut Capitolio
impetus fieret, dilapsi ad praedam vacuis occursu hominum
viis pars in proxima quaeque tectorum agmine ruunt, pars
ultima, velut ea demum intacta et referta praeda, petunt.
Inde rursus ipsa solitudine absterriti, ne qua fraus hostilis 6

ducting them were dressed as if for a triumph. The wearing of these garments had a peculiar significance here, as it was the custom for a man to be buried in the insignia of the highest office he had held. — **medio aedium**: this would naturally mean inside the house, probably in the *atrium*, but see on § 8. *medio* and *sellis* without *in*, as often in Livy.

3. **praefante carmen**: *dictating the formula*; cf. 8, 9, 4 *praeiverba*. For the complete formula see 8, 9, 6 ff. In the ceremony of *devotio* the individual offered was regarded as a sacrifice, by which the wrath of the gods was appeased, or in return for which active coöperation was secured. — **Quiritibus Romanis**: see on 1, 16, 6; the combination is uncommon, but is found in 26, 2, 11 and 45, 37, 9; the usual form is *populus Romanus Quiritium*; see 9, 10, 9.

4. **nocte**: see 5, 39, 3; this is the night after the battle. — **contentione**: *strain*. — **in acie**: *in actual line of battle*; the same idea is more often expressed without the preposition. — **capiebant**: note the tense. — **postero die**: the day after the battle, *i.e.* July 19; see on 5, 39, 2 *ante solis occasum*. — **porta**: abl. of the way by which, or abl. absolute. — **arcem**: see on § 1.

5. **quis**: instead of the more regular *qui*; cf. 3, 51, 5. — **occursu**: abl. with *vacuis*. — **agmine**: *in a body*, or (see on 1, 6, 2) *agmine ruunt* may be translated *they rush straight on*. — **demum**: *especially*.

vagos exciperet, in forum ac propinqua foro loca conglo-
7 bati redibant; ubi eos plebis aedificiis obseratis, patentibus
atriis principum maior prope cunctatio tenebat aperta quam
8 clausa invadendi; adeo haud secus quam venerabundi in-
tuebantur in aedium vestibulis sedentes viros, praeter orna-
tum habitumque humano augustiorem maiestate etiam
quam vultus gravitasque oris prae se ferebat simillimos
9 dis. Ad eos velut ad simulacra versi cum starent, M.
Papirius, unus ex iis, dicitur Gallo barbam suam, ut tum
omnibus promissa erat, permulcenti scipione eburneo in
caput incusso iram movisse; atque ab eo initium caedis
10 ortum, ceteros in sedibus suis trucidatos; post principum

7. **atriis**: the *atrium* was the large central room in the front part of the house, into which the surrounding rooms opened. It was reached from the street by a short passage, and could be easily seen from the street when the front door was open.

8. **adeo**: introducing the reason for the preceding statement; cf. 2, 27, 3. — **in aedium vestibulis**: there has been much discussion as to the meaning of *vestibulum*; it seems best taken as meaning a space between the front door and the street, — a very small space if it was due only to the slight recession of the front doorway, but larger if the house had wings projecting toward the street. If the front line of the house was absolutely unbroken, there was no *vestibulum*. See 2, 49, 3 *consul paludatus in vestibulo gentem omnem suam instructo agmine videt*. The word is best taken here in its proper sense; the Gauls hesitated to enter because of the impressive dignity of the old men sitting before their houses. If this is correct, we must admit that *medio aedium* in § 2 is an inconsistency, unless it could mean the space between two projecting wings. — **prae se ferebat**: *displayed*. — **dis**: see on *Praef.* 8.

9. **simulacra**: used especially of statues of the gods. — **Gallo**: see on 1, 5, 6 *Numitori*. — **suam**: referring to the subject of the main verb, without regard to the participle *permulcenti*; cf. 2, 1, 2 *se*. — **scipione eburneo**: those who had had a triumph carried an ivory staff decorated with a golden crown of oak leaves, or, later, with the eagle. — **initium caedis ortum**: for the pleonasm cf. *Praef.* 12. *ortum* and *trucidatos* are in ind. disc., as if *dicitur* had been used impersonally.

caedem nulli deinde mortalium parci, diripi tecta, exhaustis inici ignes.

42. Ceterum — seu non omnibus delendi urbem libido 1
erat, seu ita placuerat principibus Gallorum, et ostentari quaedam incendia terroris causa, si conpelli ad deditionem caritate sedum suarum obsessi possent, et non omnia con- 2
cremari tecta, ut quodcumque superesset urbis, id pignus ad flectendos hostium animos haberent, — nequaquam perinde atque in capta urbe prima die aut passim aut late vagatus est ignis. Romani ex arce plenam hostium urbem 3
cernentes vagosque per vias omnes cursus, cum alia atque alia parte nova aliqua clades oreretur, non mentibus solum constare sed ne auribus quidem atque oculis satis concipere poterant. Quocumque clamor hostium, mulierum 4
puerorumque ploratus, sonitus flammae et fragor ruentium tectorum avertisset, paventes ad omnia animos oraque et

10. **nulli**: referring to the plebeians who, on account of age or other infirmities, were neither taken to the Capitoline nor able to leave the city. — **mortalium**: see on 1, 28, 6. — **parci, diripi, inici**: best taken as historical infinitives.

42. 1. **seu . . . seu . . .**: either there was no general desire for destruction, or the leaders, with a definite purpose in mind, restrained their men. — **ita**: referring forward to the two inf. clauses, *ostentari incendia* and *concremari tecta*. — **et . . . et**: *though . . . yet*. — **si . . . possent**: this clause takes the place of an indirect question; Lane, 1777. — **sedum**: objective genitive.

2. **prima**: see on 3, 46, 8.

3. **cursus**: for the use of the abstract noun cf. 1, 29, 2, and for the prepositional phrase depending on *cursus* see on 2, 1, 4 *transfuga*. — **alia atque alia parte**: *now in one quarter, now in another*. — **non . . . solum**: see on 2, 23, 14. — **non mentibus . . . poterant**: *not only were they disturbed in mind* (lit. *could not stand firm in mind*), *but they could not even fully believe* (lit. *take in with*) *their ears and eyes*.

4. **mulierum**: it appears that some of the women had neither taken refuge on the Capitol nor left the city. — **avertisset**: *had attracted their attention*; the object is easily supplied; for the iterative subjunctive see on 3, 36, 8. — **ad**

oculos flectebant velut ad spectaculum a fortuna positi occidentis patriae nec ullius rerum suarum relicti praeter-
5 quam corporum vindices, tanto ante alios miserandi magis qui umquam obsessi sunt, quod interclusi a patria obside-
6 bantur, omnia sua cernentes in hostium potestate. Nec tranquillior nox diem tam foede actum excepit; lux deinde noctem inquietam insecuta est, nec ullum erat tempus quod a novae semper cladis alicuius spectaculo cessaret.
7 Nihil tamen tot onerati atque obruti malis flexerunt animos, quin, etsi omnia flammis ac ruinis aequata vidissent, quamvis inopem parvumque quem tenebant collem libertati
8 relictum virtute defenderent. Et iam, cum eadem cotidie acciderent, velut adsueti malis abalienaverant ab sensu rerum suarum animos arma tantum ferrumque in dextris velut solas reliquias spei suae intuentes.

1 43. Galli quoque per aliquot dies in tecta modo urbis nequiquam bello gesto, cum inter incendia ac ruinas captae

omnia: to be taken both with *paventes* (cf. 25, 38, 17 *paventes ad necopinatum tumultum*; also 5, 37, 5; 46, 2; 47, 3) and with *flectebant*. — **ullius**: the rare substantive use; cf. 5, 40, 4 and 9, 2, 10; for the neuter cf. 2, 59, 8 *nemo ullius nisi fugae memor*. — **relicti**: nominative plural.

5. With his usual appreciation of a distressing scene, Livy gives us here the most painful element; but he forgets that such a position as that in which the Romans now found themselves must have been a common one in a country where most of the towns were built about a central citadel, in which the inhabitants, if necessary, could take refuge. — **umquam**: see on 21, 1, 1.

6. **excepit**: *followed*; used also without an object in this sense; 2, 61, 1 *turbulentior inde annus excepit*. — **lux**: the qualifying idea corresponding to *nec tranquillior* and *tam foede actum* is supplied by *nec ullum . . . cessaret*, which serves also to prolong indefinitely the period of their suffering. — **semper**: see on *Praef.* 2.

7. **tamen**: introducing a thought which is in opposition to the preceding sentence and also to the following words *tot . . . malis*; cf. 1, 24, 1.

urbis nihil superesse praeter armatos hostes viderent, nequaquam tot cladibus territos nec flexuros ad deditionem animos ni vis adhiberetur, experiri ultima et impetum facere in arcem statuunt. Prima luce signo dato multi- 2
tudo omnis in foro instruitur; inde clamore sublato ac testudine facta subeunt. Adversus quos Romani nihil temere nec trepide; ad omnis aditus stationibus firmatis, qua signa ferri videbant, ea robore virorum opposito scandere hostem sinunt, quo successerit magis in arduum, eo pelli posse per proclive facilius rati. Medio fere clivo 3
restitere, atque inde ex loco superiore, qui prope sua sponte in hostem inferebat, impetu facto strage ac ruina fudere Gallos, ut numquam postea nec pars nec universi temptaverint tale pugnae genus.

Omissa itaque spe per vim atque arma subeundi obsi- 4
dionem parant, cuius ad id tempus inmemores et quod in

43. 1. **nihil superesse**: cf. 5, 49, 4 *semirutae urbis*. Diod. 14, 115 says the city was destroyed with the exception of a few houses on the Palatine. — **nequaquam**: correlative with *nec*. — **experiri ultima**: cf. 2, 28, 9.

2. **testudine facta**: 34, 39, 6 *sublatis deinde supra capita scutis continuatisque ita inter se, ut non modo ad caecos ictus sed ne ad inserendum quidem ex propinquo telum loci quicquam esset, testudine facta subibant*. — **nihil**: sc. *faciebant*. — **ad omnis aditus**: in Livy's time the top of the hill could be reached, not only by the *Clivus Capitolinus* (see on 5, 39, 9), but by the *Gradus Monetae*, a flight of stairs leading from the Forum to the Arx, and by the *Centum Gradus*, probably at the southern end of the hill, serving as an approach from the Forum Boarium. To explain the plural *aditus*, we may suppose that even as early as 390 B.C. stairs had been built at these points or at others, or that Livy has in mind those places where it would be less difficult to climb up over the rocks.

3. **clivo**: the ascent was attempted, therefore, by the *Clivus Capitolinus*. — **restitere**: *they stationed themselves*; the subject is *Romani*. — **inde**: see on 5, 39, 10. — **sua sponte**: *i.e.* without any effort on their part; see on 9, 7, 8. — **temptaverint**: see on 1, 3, 4 *ausi sint*.

urbe fuerat frumentum incendiis urbis adsumpserant, et ex agris per eos ipsos dies raptum omne Veios erat. Igitur exercitu diviso partim per finitimos populos praedari placuit, partim obsideri arcem, ut obsidentibus frumentum populatores agrorum praeberent.

* * * * * * *

1 46. Romae interim plerumque obsidio segnis et utrimque silentium esse, ad id tantum intentis Gallis, ne quis hostium evadere inter stationes posset, cum repente iuvenis Romanus admiratione in se cives hostesque convertit. 2 Sacrificium erat statum in Quirinali colle genti Fabiae. Ad id faciendum C. Fabius Dorsuo Gabino cinctu sacra manibus gerens, cum de Capitolio descendisset, per medias

4. **et . . . et . . .** : the continuity of the sentence is broken by the second clause, which is not properly correlative with the first; for similar confusion cf. 22, 6, 2; 39, 40, 9.

The plundering expedition of the Gauls went into the territory of Ardea, about eighteen miles south of Rome. While they were encamped at night outside the walls of the town, they were attacked by the men of Ardea under the leadership of Camillus, then living there in exile from Rome, and either killed or scattered. During the same time, the Romans in Veii won a victory over the Etruscans, who, taking advantage of the misfortunes of the Romans, were plundering their territory and preparing to besiege Veii.

46. 1. **ad id**: *ad* is rarely used with *intentus*; cf. 5, 47, 11. — **convertit**: this clause contains the main idea and therefore has the indicative and stands at the end of the sentence.

2. **statum**: *regular*. — **Dorsuo**: a rare *cognomen* of the Fabian *gens*, found again in 7, 28, 1. — **Gabino cinctu**: the toga was drawn up and fastened in such a way as to give greater freedom of movement. There seems to have been a religious connection between Rome and Gabii, a colony of Alba Longa about ten miles east of Rome; there was a school of augury there, and the method of taking the auspices in the two cities was the same. Hence, perhaps, the name of this style of dress, which was originally customary at Rome in religious festivals involving a procession. —

hostium stationes egressus, nihil ad vocem cuiusquam terroremve motus, in Quirinalem collem pervenit; ibique 3
omnibus sollemniter peractis eadem revertens similiter constanti vultu graduque, satis sperans propitios esse deos, quorum cultum ne mortis quidem metu prohibitus deseruisset, in Capitolium ad suos rediit, seu attonitis Gallis miraculo audaciae seu religione etiam motis, cuius haudquaquam neglegens gens est.

Veis interim non animi tantum in dies sed etiam vires 4
crescebant. Nec Romanis solum eo convenientibus ex agris, qui aut proelio adverso aut clade captae urbis palati fuerant, sed etiam ex Latio voluntariis confluentibus, ut in 5
parte praedae essent, maturum iam videbatur repeti patriam eripique ex hostium manibus. Sed corpori valido caput deerat. Locus ipse admonebat Camilli, et magna pars 6
militum erat, qui ductu auspicioque eius res prospere ges-

sacra: the implements used at the sacrifice. — **ad vocem**: see on 5, 42, 4 *ad omnia*. — **terrorem**: *threats*; this active use is very rare; cf. 4, 21, 5 *vis morbi ingravescens curae erat terroresque ac prodigia*.

3. **eadem**: sc. *via*. — **esse**: see on 1, 5, 5 *spes fuerat*. — **neglegens gens**: such unpleasant repetition of sound occurs rarely in Livy; *e.g.* 4, 7, 3 *eius ius*; 9, 9, 1 *profanos nos*. Caes. *B.G.* 6, 16 says of the Gauls, *natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus*. The structure of this sentence is noteworthy. It illustrates admirably the ability of the writer to say many things, even to tell a complete story, in a single sentence, — an ability largely due to a skillful use of the ablative absolute, and of other participial constructions.

4. **animi**: see on 1, 25, 3. — **proelio, clade**: abl. of cause. — **palati fuerant**: see on 1, 2, 1.

5. **ut . . . essent**: *that they might share the plunder*; Verg. *Aen.* 3, 222 *ipsum vocamus in partem praedamque Iovem*. The confidence of the Latins in the ability of the Romans to defeat the Gauls, is, under the present circumstances, remarkable.

6. **Camilli**: M. Furius Camillus was the Roman general who, after a long siege, took Veii in 396 B.C., — an event that marks the beginning of Rome's long career of foreign conquest. According to the

serant; et Caedicius negare se commissurum, cur sibi aut deorum aut hominum quisquam imperium finiret potius
7 quam ipse memor ordinis sui posceret imperatorem. Consensu omnium placuit ab Ardea Camillum acciri, sed antea consulto senatu, qui Romae esset; adeo regebat omnia pudor, discriminaque rerum prope perditis rebus servа-
8 bant. Ingenti periculo transeundum per hostium custodias erat. Ad eam rem Pontius Cominius, inpiger iuvenis, operam pollicitus incubans cortici secundo Tiberi ad urbem
9 defertur. Inde, qua proximum fuit a ripa, per praeruptum eoque neglectum hostium custodia saxum in Capitolium evadit et ad magistratus ductus mandata exercitus edit.
10 Accepto inde senatus consulto, uti comitiis curiatis revocatus de exilio iussu populi Camillus dictator extemplo

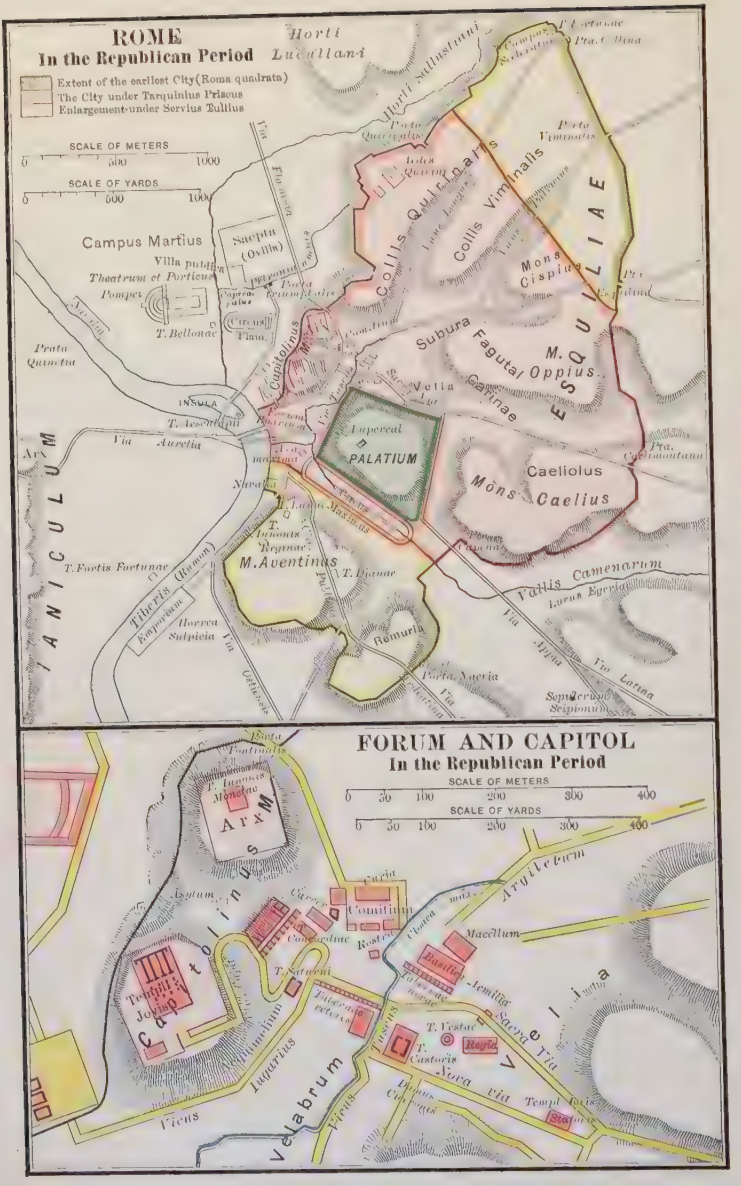
tradition, he was accused of dishonest appropriation of the plunder, and at the time of the Gallic invasion was in exile at Ardea. — **Caedicius**: a centurion under whose command the Romans at Veii had placed themselves. — **se commissurum, cur**: *i.e.* he would do nothing that would give any one reason; cf. Caes. *B.G.* 1, 14, 2 *neque commissum a se, quare timeret.* Forms of *facio* are sometimes used in this way; *e.g.* 42, 29, 11 *fecerat potius, cur suspectus esset.* The meaning is, He would not wait for them to supersede him in command, but would himself as centurion (*memor ordinis sui*) demand the appointment of a general.

7. **pudor**: respect for law and custom. — **discrimina . . . servabant**: *they maintained the proper relations of things, when the things themselves had nearly perished.* For *discrimina* cf. 5, 40, 10.

8. **secundo Tiberi**: *down the Tiber;* abl. of the way by which. Veii was about five miles from the river.

9. **qua . . . ripa**: *i.e.* where it was the shortest distance from the river to the hill; the subject is indefinite; cf. 21, 5, 12 *qua cuique proximum est, in amnem ruunt;* 22, 4, 6. The distance is not more than two hundred yards. — **custodia**: abl. of want with *neglectum;* the same phrase occurs in 24, 46, 1. — **magistratus**: six military tribunes with consular power had been elected for this year.

10. **comitiis curiatis**: dat. of agent with *revocatus.* The old assembly of the early regal period


ROME
In the Republican Period
Extent of the earliest City (Roma quadrata)
The City under Tarquinius Priscus
Enlargement under Servius Tullius
SCALE OF METERS
0 500 1000
SCALE OF YARDS
0 500 1000
Horti Lucullani
Horti Sallustiani
Campus Martius
Villa publica
Theatrum et Porticus Pompei
Saepta (Ovilia)
T. Bellonae
Prata Quinctia
Collis Quirinalis
Collis Viminalis
Mons Cispius
ESQUILIAE
Subura
Fagutal
Oppius M.
Carinae
Velia
PALATIUM
Caelius Mons
Caeliolus
M. Aventinus
T. Dianae
Remuria
Vallis Camenarum
Lacus Egeriae
Via Appia
Via Latina
Porta Naevia
Sepulcrum Scipionum
JANICULUM
T. Fortis Fortunae
Tiberis
Horrea Sulpicia
Via Aurelia
Via Cornelia
Via Cassia
Via Flaminia
Via Labicana
Via Tiburtina
Via Nomentana
Via Salaria
Via Collatina
Via Praenestina
Via Gabina
Via Ostiensis
Via Portuensis
Via Triumphalis
Via Lavicana
Via Latina
Via Appia
Via Ardeatina
Via Campana
Via Ostiensis

diceretur, militesque haberent imperatorem quem vellent, eadem degressus nuntius Veios contendit; missique Ardeam legati ad Camillum Veios eum perduxere, seu — 11
quod magis credere libet, non prius profectum ab Ardea quam conpererit legem latam, quod nec iniussu populi mutari finibus posset nec nisi dictator dictus auspicia in exercitu habere — lex curiata lata est dictatorque absens dictus.

47. Dum haec Veis agebantur, interim arx Romae Capi- 1
toliumque in ingenti periculo fuit. Namque Galli seu vesti- 2

had at this time lost most of its powers. All Roman citizens were members, but it was not until later that plebeians and clients gained the right of voting in the curies. See Granrud, *Roman Constitutional History*, pp. 35–36. — **revocatus**: *i.e.* when he should be recalled; the senate assumed that this would be done. — **iussu populi**; connect with *diceretur*. — **eadem**: see on § 3.

11. **seu**: the question is whether Camillus went immediately to Veii and received his appointment to the dictatorship there, or preferred to remain at Ardea until the decree of exile was recalled and his appointment was actually voted. Livy has the former idea in 9, 4, 13; 22, 3, 10; and 22, 14, 11 *quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate patrum iussuque populi dictum Veios adlatum est, . . . descendit in aecum atque illo ipso die . . . cecidit Gallorum legiones*. Val. Max. 4, 1, 2, on the other hand, says *non prius Veios . . . iret, quam de dictatura sua omnia sollemni iure acta conperisset*. — **legem**: the *lex curiata*. — **finibus**: abl. of separation. — **auspicia**: only a properly appointed magistrate could preside at the taking of the auspices, and no act of importance could be begun until the auspices had been taken. — **lex curiata**: a vote of the *comitia curiata* approving the appointment of a magistrate; this was a necessary preliminary and there is no evidence that it was ever refused. When the *comitia curiata* had gone out of existence, thirty lictors, representing the defunct assembly, still met and voted on the *lex curiata*. In this place Livy means possibly not the formal vote just described, but one recalling Camillus from exile, a matter within the authority of the *comitia curiata*. — **absens**: while he was still at Ardea.

47. 1. **fuit**: for the number cf. 21, 40, 3 *voluit*.

gio notato humano, qua nuntius a Veis pervenerat, seu sua sponte animadverso ad Carmentis saxo ascensu aequo, nocte sublustri, cum primo inermem, qui temptaret viam, praemisissent, tradentes inde arma, ubi quid iniqui esset, alterni innixi sublevantesque in vicem et trahentes alii alios, 3 prout postularet locus, tanto silentio in summum evasere, ut non custodes solum fallerent, sed ne canes quidem, sol- 4 licitum animal ad nocturnos strepitus, excitarent. Anseres non fefellere, quibus sacris Iunonis in summa inopia cibi tamen abstinebatur. Quae res saluti fuit; namque clangore eorum alarumque crepitu excitus M. Manlius, qui triennio ante consul fuerat, vir bello egregius, armis adreptis, simul ad arma ceteros ciens, vadit et, dum ceteri trepidant, Gallum, qui iam in summo constiterat, umbone ictum de- 5 turbat. Cuius casus prolapsi cum proximos sterneret, trepidantes alios armisque omissis saxa quibus adhaere-

2. **sua sponte**: see on 3, 43, 3. — **Carmentis**: see on 3, 48, 5 *Cloacinae*. Carmentis (another form of the name was *Carmenta*), the mother of Evander (see 1, 5, 2), was worshiped at Rome as a birth-goddess of prophetic power, and had an altar between the Capitoline and the river, near the Porta Carmentalis of the Servian Wall. — **ascensu**: abl. of quality. — **aequo**: *easy*; in comparison with other parts where the cliff was perpendicular; cf. 44, 33, 4 *qua descensus facilis armatis, qua in ulteriorem ripam minime inicus ascensus esset*. — **tradentes**: *i.e.* one would give his arms to another until he had passed a difficult place, when they could be passed up to him. — **esset**: see on 3, 36, 8. — **in vicem**: pleonastic after *alterni*.

3. **ad**: see on 5, 37, 5, and cf. 5, 42, 4; 46, 2.

4. **quibus**: see on 1, 1, 1 *duobus*; this also may be dative, but the ablative is the usual construction. — **Iunonis**: poss. genitive; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2, 1, 48 *illa insula eorum deorum sacra putatur*. — **in**: *in spite of*. — **M. Manlius**: the *cognomen* of his family, *Capitolinus*, derived from the fact that they lived on the hill (see § 8), henceforth took on a new meaning.

5. **casus**: rarely used in its original meaning; cf. 21, 35, 6. — **omissis**: cf. 22, 49, 2.

bant manibus amplexos trucidat. Iamque et alii congregati telis missilibusque saxis proturbare hostes, ruinaque tota prolapsa acies in praeceps deferri. Sedato deinde 6
tumultu reliquum noctis, quantum turbatis mentibus poterat, cum praeteritum quoque periculum sollicitaret, quieti datum est. Luce orta vocatis classico ad concilium militi- 7
bus ad tribunos, cum et recte et perperam facto pretium deberetur, Manlius primum ob virtutem laudatus donatusque non ab tribunis solum militum sed consensu etiam militari; cui universi selibras farris et quartarios vini ad 8
aedes eius, quae in arce erant, contulerunt — rem dictu parvam, ceterum inopia fecerat eam argumentum ingens caritatis, cum se quisque victu suo fraudans detractum corpori atque usibus necessariis ad honorem unius viri conferret. Tum vigiles eius loci, qua fefellerat ascendens 9
hostis, citati; et cum in omnes more militari se animadversurum Q. Sulpicius tribunus militum pronuntiasset, con- 10

6. **reliquum noctis**: Livy often uses a neuter adjective with a dependent genitive where earlier prose would have had an attributive adjective; cf. 5, 38, 4; 41, 2. — **cum . . . sollicitaret**: *when even danger that was past agitated them.*

7. **ad . . . ad . . .**: cf. 8, 7, 12 *ad praetorium ad patrem tendit*; usually, under these circumstances, different prepositions are used. — **tribunos**: see on 5, 46, 9 *magistratus*.

8. **cui**: unnecessary, in view of the following *eius*; but see on 1, 5, 6 *Numitori*. — **selibras**: a *libra* was about three quarters of a pound. — **quartarios**: a quarter of a *sextarius*, which was about a pint. — **rem**: in app. with the preceding statement, regarded as the object of a verb of saying. — **ceterum . . . caritatis**: the independent clause gives greater emphasis than a relative clause would have given; for a similar change see 3, 33, 5. — **corpori**: *corpus* and *animus* are sometimes used where we should say "myself," "himself," etc., with reference, however, to bodily or mental qualities respectively; cf. 21, 41, 16. — **usibus necessariis**: cf. 27, 45, 11.

9. **fefellerat**: cf. the construction of λανθάνειν with a participle. — **more militari**: 2, 59, 11

sentiente clamore militum in unum vigilem conicientium culpam deterritus a ceteris abstinuit, reum haud dubium
11 eius noxae adprobantibus cunctis de saxo deiecit. Inde intentiores utrimque custodiae esse, et apud Gallos, quia vulgatum erat inter Veios Romamque nuntios commeare, et apud Romanos ab nocturni periculi memoria.

1 48. Sed ante omnia obsidionis bellique mala fames
2 utrumque exercitum urgebat, Gallos pestilentia etiam, cum loco iacente inter tumulos castra habentes tum ab incendiis torrido et vaporis pleno cineremque, non pulve-
3 rem modo, ferente, cum quid venti motum esset. Quorum intolerantissima gens umorique ac frigori adsueta, cum aestu et languore vexata, vulgatis velut in pecua morbis, morerentur, iam pigritia singulos sepeliendi promiscue acervatos cumulos hominum urebant; bustorumque inde

milites . . . virgis caesos securi percussit.

10. **saxo**: in early times the Capitolium, the southwestern summit of the hill, was sometimes called *Mons Tarpeius*; later the name *saxum Tarpeium* was applied to a part of this summit from which criminals were thrown; the exact location of this place of execution cannot be determined.

11. **custodiae**: cf. 5, 46, 1 *ad id tantum intentis*. — **ab**: *because of*; cf. 1, 1, 4.

48. 2. **pestilentia**: this would naturally have developed toward the end of summer, the worst part of the year in Rome. — **loco**: qualified by *iacente*, *torrido*, *pleno*, and *ferente*. — **tumulos**: the Forum is surrounded by hills except toward the river, with which it is connected by the valley of the Velabrum. It was originally a swamp, and even in 390 B.C. was not so well drained as it was under the empire. — **ab incendiis**: see on 5, 47, 11. — **vaporis**: *heat*. — **cineremque . . . modo**: for this phraseology cf. § 7 *spe . . . cibo*. — **ferente**: *producing, sending up*. — **esset**: see on 3, 36, 8.

3. **intolerantissima**: cf. 10, 28, 4 *Gallorum . . . corpora intolerantissima laboris atque aestus*; 27, 48, 16. — **umori**: for the dat. see on 2, 1, 5. — **morerentur**: for the plural with *gens*, referring to the individuals, cf. 5, 37, 8; see on 2, 28, 9. — **pigritia sepeliendi**: cf. 5, 41, 7 *cunctatio invadendi*. — **bustorum Gallicorum**: in 22, 14, 11

Gallicorum nomine insignem locum fecere. Indutiae de- 4
inde cum Romanis factae et conloquia permissu imperatorum habita; in quibus cum identidem Galli famem obicerent eaque necessitate ad deditionem vocarent, dicitur [avertendae eius opinionis causa] multis locis panis de Capitolio iactatus esse in hostium stationes. Sed iam 5
neque dissimulari neque ferri ultra fames poterat. Itaque dum dictator dilectum per se Ardeae habet, magistrum equitum L. Valerium a Veis adducere exercitum iubet, parat instruitque quibus haud impar adoriatur hostes, in- 6
terim Capitolinus exercitus stationibus, vigiliis fessus [superatis tamen humanis omnibus malis] cum famem unam natura vinci non sineret, diem de die prospectans, ecquod auxilium ab dictatore adpareret, postremo [spe quoque iam, 7
non solum cibo, deficiente] et, cum stationes procederent,

Livy says that the *busta Gallica* were in the middle of the city; more definite information than this is not given. Huelsen places them in the Forum Boarium.

4. **famem**: *i.e.* of the Romans.

5. **dum**: the force of the conjunction is maintained through *parat instruitque*. The asyndeton may be compared with that between *cum* clauses; see on 3, 52, 5. — **per se**: *in person*. — **parat . . . hostes**: *makes such preparations and arrangements as will enable him to attack the enemy on equal terms*. *quibus* is neuter.

6. **stationibus, vigiliis**: *watching by day and night*. *statio* is usually a word of general meaning, applied to a guard of any kind. Asyndeton between two words is not uncommon in Livy; cf. 39, 40, 10. — **tamen**: there is some rhetorical confusion here; the concession that justifies *tamen* is contained in *fessus*, but *superatis . . . malis* is itself a concession for the following clause, which therefore calls for a second *tamen*. In general it may be said that this is not a good example of Livy's ability to say much in a single sentence. The mind inevitably becomes fatigued with the multiplicity of ideas presented.

7. **spe . . . cibo**: cf. § 2 *cineremque . . . modo*, and for this use of *quoque* cf. 9, 38, 12 *qui sua quoque eum, non publica solum auctoritate moverent*. — **cum . . . procederent**: *since guard duty was continuous*. — **vel dedi . . . iussit**:

prope obruentibus infirmum corpus armis vel dedi vel redimi se quacumque pactione possent iussit, iactantibus non obscure Gallis haud magna mercede se adduci posse ut
8 obsidionem relinquant. Tum senatus habitus tribunisque militum negotium datum, ut paciscerentur. Inde inter Q. Sulpicium tribunum militum et Brennum, regulum Gallorum, conloquio transacta res est et mille pondo auri
9 pretium populi gentibus mox imperaturi factum. Rei foedissimae per se adiecta indignitas est; pondera ab Gallis adlata iniqua, et tribuno recusante additus ab insolente Gallo ponderi gladius auditaque intoleranda Romanis vox: vae victis.

1 49. Sed diique et homines prohibuere redemptos vivere Romanos. Nam forte quadam, priusquam infanda merces perficeretur, per altercationem nondum omni auro adpenso, dictator intervenit auferrique aurum de medio et Gallos
2 submoveri iubet. Cum illi renitentes pactos dicerent sese, negat eam pactionem ratam esse quae, postquam ipse dictator creatus esset, iniussu suo ab inferioris iuris magis-

i.e. they ordered their commanders either to surrender or to buy off the Gauls on whatever basis they could.

8. **pondo**: an old abl., meaning literally *by weight*. It came to be used with numerals as an indeclinable noun, meaning *pounds*. The present value of this amount of gold would be about $225,000. Varro, quoted by Nonius, p. 228, gave the amount as 2000 pounds, but Pliny 33, 14 explains that this was a mistake.

9. **per se**: connect with *foedissimae*. — **indignitas**: *insult*.

49. 1. **diique et homines**: see on *Praef.* 13. — **redemptos**: pred. adjective. — **forte quadam**: see on 1, 4, 4. — **dictator**: other writers do not mention the intervention of Camillus; Livy himself, in fact, in 10, 16, 6 and 22, 59, 7 speaks as if the transaction had been completed. If Livy's story here is correct, we must assume that Camillus took advantage of the truce to enter the city, and that, during the same interval, the Roman forces established themselves on the lower ground (see § 4).

2. **ratam**: *valid*. — **ab . . . magistratu**: see 5, 48, 8.

tratu facta esset, denuntiatque Gallis, ut se ad proelium expediant. Suos in acervum conicere sarcinas et arma 3
aptare ferroque, non auro, recuperare patriam iubet, in conspectu habentes fana deum et coniuges et liberos et solum patriae deforme belli malis et omnia, quae defendi repetique et ulcisci fas sit. Instruit deinde aciem, ut loci natura 4
patiebatur, in semirutae solo urbis et natura inaequali, et omnia quae arte belli secunda suis eligi praeparariue poterant providit. Galli nova re trepidi arma capiunt iraque 5
magis quam consilio in Romanos incurrunt. Iam verterat fortuna, iam deorum opes humanaque consilia rem Romanam adiuvabant. Igitur primo concursu haud maiore momento fusi Galli sunt quam ad Aliam vicerant. Iustiore 6
altero deinde proelio ad octavum lapidem Gabina via, quo se ex fuga contulerant, eiusdem ductu auspicioque Camilli vincuntur. Ibi caedes omnia obtinuit; castra capiuntur, et ne nuntius quidem cladis relictus. Dictator recuperata ex 7
hostibus patria triumphans in urbem redit, interque iocos militares, quos inconditos iaciunt, Romulus ac parens patriae

3. **ulcisci**: parallel with *defendi* and *repeti*, and therefore passive, — a rare use of the word; cf. 2, 17, 7 *ob iras graviter ultas*.

4. **semirutae**: cf. 5, 43, 1. — **et . . . inaequali**: *which was moreover naturally uneven*; *inaequali* qualifies *solo*.

5. **nova re trepidi**. *alarmed by the unexpected event*. — **momento**: cf. 21, 43, 11; 24, 34, 2; *with no greater impulse, i.e.* as easily. — **fusi . . . sunt**: according to an ancient calendar this battle occurred on Feb. 13 (389 B.C.); Varro, *L.L.* 6, 18, seems to put it shortly before July 5; but the general statement that the Gauls remained in the city seven months supports the earlier date.

6. **iustiore proelio**: *a more regular battle*; cf. 39, 2, 8 *coactos in aciem descendere iusto proelio devicit*. — **Gabina via**: leading east from Rome to Gabii and Praeneste.

7. **inconditos**: *in rude verse*; cf. 7, 2, 5; a regular custom at triumphs. — **iaciunt**: sc. *milites* from *militares*.

conditorque alter urbis haud vanis laudibus appellabatur.
8 Servatam deinde bello patriam iterum in pace haud dubie servavit, cum prohibuit migrari Veios, et tribunis rem intentius agentibus post incensam urbem et per se inclinata
9 magis plebe ad id consilium. Eaque causa fuit non abdicandae post triumphum dictaturae, senatu obsecrante ne rem publicam in incerto relinqueret statu.

Book VI

The Licinio-Sextian Laws

1 **35.** Occasio videbatur rerum novandarum propter in-
377 B.C. gentem vim aeris alieni, cuius levamen mali plebes nisi
2 suis in summo imperio locatis nullum speraret: accingendum ad eam cogitationem esse; conando agendoque iam eo gradum fecisse plebeios, unde, si porro adnitantur, per-

8. **tribunis . . . urbem**: after the capture of Veii in 396, a proposal had been urged to transfer the Roman population to that town on account of its better location and finer buildings.

9. **abdicandae dictaturae**: see on 2, 28, 9.

Book VI. **35**; **42**$^{9-14}$. References: Plut. *Camillus*, 39–43. Niebuhr, 3, 1–30. Lewis, 2, 373–398. Long, *Decline of the Roman Republic*, 1, 144–158. Ihne, 1, 314–334. Mommsen, 1, 380 ff.

35. 1. **occasio . . . novandarum**: *there seemed to be an opportunity to introduce changes*. It was not an especially favorable time, as no war was in progress, and the plebeians could not support their demands by a refusal to respect the levy. The *vis aeris alieni* constituted the *occasio*. *res novare* is a technical phrase; cf. *res novae*. — **plebes**: see on 2, 24, 2. — **nisi . . . locatis**: *unless some of their own number were placed in the highest office, i.e.* the consulship. — **speraret**: *said that they expected*; subj. in informal ind. disc.; Lane, 1725.

2. **accingendum esse**: impersonal. — **conando agendoque**: *by their persistent efforts*. — **eo gradum fecisse**: *i.e.* they could be consular tribunes. In 445 B.C. an arrangement had been made that

venire ad summa et patribus aequari tam honore quam virtute possent. In praesentia tribunos plebis fieri placuit, 3
quo in magistratu sibimet ipsi viam ad ceteros honores aperirent. Creatique tribuni C. Licinius et L. Sextius pro- 4
mulgavere leges omnes adversus opes patriciorum et pro commodis plebis: unam de aere alieno, ut deducto eo de capite quod usuris pernumeratum esset, id quod superesset triennio aequis pensionibus persolveretur; alteram 5
de modo agrorum, ne quis plus quingenta iugera agri possideret; tertiam, ne tribunorum militum comitia fierent, consulumque utique alter ex plebe crearetur: cuncta in-

each year the senate should determine whether two consuls or six military tribunes with consular power should be elected; if the latter, they might be plebeians. But, although consular tribunes were often elected, the senate managed almost always to prevent the election of plebeians. Only in a few cases did the plebeians contrive to elect a majority from their own order. — **plebeios**: the use of this noun instead of *plebs* is rare. — **virtute**: *character*.

3. **praesentia**: sc. *tempora*. — **quo** = *quorum*. — **ipsi**: the plebeians.

4. **leges**: these were proposed in the *comitia tributa* (see on § 7), but required the sanction of the senate before they went into effect. It was not until 286 B.C. that the Hortensian Law removed the necessity of this sanction. — **omnes**: to be closely connected in translation with the following words. — **patriciorum**: there were, of course, also many rich plebeians who would be affected by the first two proposals. In fact, ten years after the passage of his laws Licinius himself was fined for possessing a thousand *iugera* of land. — **usuris**: see on 2, 23, 6. — **triennio**: abl. of time within which. The numerical element in this word must be used also with *aequis pensionibus*.

5. **de modo agrorum**: it is maintained with much probability that this refers only to the *ager publicus*, that portion of conquered territory which was assigned to individuals for occupation, not for actual ownership; *possideo* is technically used of such occupation. Others believe that the law applied also to land in the absolute ownership of individuals. — **quingenta iugera**: 330 acres. — **ne . . . fierent**: *i.e.* that the office of consular tribune should be abolished, and that

gentia et quae sine certamine maximo obtineri non possent.
6 Omnium igitur simul rerum quarum inmodica cupido inter mortales est, agri, pecuniae, honorum discrimine proposito conterriti patres cum trepidassent publicis privatisque consiliis, nullo remedio alio praeter expertam multis iam ante certaminibus intercessionem invento, collegas adversus tri-
7 bunicias rogationes conparaverunt. Qui ubi tribus ad suffragium ineundum citari a Licinio Sextioque viderunt, stipati patrum praesidiis nec recitari rogationes nec sollemne
8 quidquam aliud ad sciscendum plebi fieri passi sunt. Iam-

henceforth only consuls should be elected; see on § 2. — **consulumque . . . crearetur**: sc. *ut* from the preceding *ne*. — **utique**: *at least*. — **possent**: a relative clause of characteristic; cf. *Praef.* 11 *inmigraverint*. — There were other less important clauses not included here, — that a certain proportion of free laborers should be employed; that no one should pasture more than 100 cattle and 500 sheep on the public lands; that the *duoviri sacris faciundis* should be increased to ten, and of these five should be plebeians; this last proposal, according to Livy, was made several years later. Appian, *B.C.* 1, 8.

6. **simul**: such a law, containing several diverse clauses, was called *lex satura*. — **discrimine proposito**: *a contest having been set on foot involving all those things* etc. — **publicis . . . consiliis**: *in their public and private deliberations*. — **nullo remedio alio**: the senate seems to have felt that its own unsupported refusal to sanction the law would be followed by such disastrous consequences that other means must be employed. — **intercessionem**: the veto of other tribunes (*collegas*). In 457 the number of tribunes had been raised to ten.

7. **tribus**: the *comitia tributa* was probably first organized in 447 B.C. and included both patricians and plebeians, the latter, of course, in a large majority. In § 8 the same body is called *concilium*, and it should be said that some authorities maintain that the *comitia tributa* and the *concilium plebis* were the same thing, a body composed of plebeians only. — **rogationes**: *rogatio* is the technical name of a bill for which a magistrate asks the approval of the people. It was read (*recitare*) by a clerk. — **sollemne**: cf. 39, 15, 1 *sollemne carmen precationis, quod praefari solent priusquam popu-*

que frustra saepe consilio advocato cum pro antiquatis rogationes essent, "bene habet" inquit Sextius; "quando quidem tantum intercessionem pollere placet, isto ipso telo tutabimur plebem. Agitedum, comitia indicite, patres, 9
tribunis militum creandis; faxo ne iuvet vox ista 'veto,' quam nunc concinentes collegas nostros tam laeti auditis." Haud inritae cecidere minae; comitia praeter aedilium tri- 10
bunorumque plebi nulla sunt habita. Licinius Sextiusque tribuni plebis refecti nullos curules magistratus creari passi sunt; eaque solitudo magistratuum et plebe reficiente duos tribunos et iis comitia tribunorum militum tollentibus per quinquennium urbem tenuit.

* * * * * * *

lum adloquantur magistratus. — **ad sciscendum plebi**: *i.e.* leading to the approval of the people; *plebi* is dat. of agent with the gerundive.

8. **pro antiquatis essent**: *were considered as rejected*; the verb *antiquo* (lit. *to leave in its ancient condition*) is the technical term for the rejection of a bill. Approval, on the other hand, was expressed by the words *uti rogas*. — **bene habet**: a colloquial expression; *all right*.

9. **agitedum**: see on 2, 29, 11. — **faxo**: an old fut. perf. form, sometimes, as here, having the force of the future. — **veto**: the protest of the tribune; *intercedo* and *intercessio* are the technical words referring to such action. — **concinentes**: *chanting*.

10. **aedilium tribunorumque plebi**: apparently the election of these magistrates could not be prevented by the tribunician *intercessio*. Otherwise, the senate would have made use of tribunes to prevent the reëlection of Licinius and Sextius. For the form *plebi* see on 3, 35, 8. — **curules magistratus**: see on 5, 41, 2. — **per quinquennium**: this statement is not generally accepted, as it is thought that the state could not have existed for five years without magistrates of controlling power. According to Diod. 15, 75 (cf. Plin. 16, 44) the interregnum lasted only one year.

The proposals were first introduced in 377. The struggle for their passage was continued for ten years, Licinius and Sextius being elected every year. Meantime, on account of a war with Velitrae, they had allowed the

9 42. Vixdum perfunctum cum bello atrocior domi seditio
367 B.C. excepit; et per ingentia certamina dictator senatusque victus, ut rogationes tribuniciae acciperentur; et comitia consulum adversa nobilitate habita, quibus L. Sextius de plebe
10 primus consul factus. Et ne is quidem finis certaminum fuit. Quia patricii se auctores futuros negabant, prope secessionem plebis res terribilesque alias minas civilium
11 certaminum venit, cum tandem per dictatorem condicionibus sedatae discordiae sunt concessumque ab nobilitate plebi de consule plebeio, a plebe nobilitati de praetore uno, qui
12 ius in urbe diceret, ex patribus creando. Ita ab diutina ira tandem in concordiam redactis ordinibus cum dignam eam

election of consular tribunes. But the plebeians were so turbulent that the senate at last appointed Camillus dictator; having abdicated the office, he was followed by P. Manlius, but was again appointed in 367, to repel an attack of the Gauls. The following sections describe the passage of the laws.

42. 9. **eum**: Camillus. — **bello**: with the Gauls. — **excepit**: *claimed him, demanded his attention.* — **ingentia certamina**: the persistent efforts of the plebeians during the last ten years. — **victus**: sing. verb with two subjects, as in 1, 3, 1. — **acciperentur**: the senate allowed the *plebiscitum* to pass without obstruction and gave it the necessary approval. — **nobilitate**: the whole body of patricians. — **L. Sextius**: his colleague was a patrician, L. Aemilius Mamercus. Consuls were elected by the *comitia centuriata*.

10. **patricii . . . negabant**: the election of consuls was not complete until it received the official sanction of the patrician members of the senate, the *patrum auctoritas*. Elsewhere Livy uses *patres*, not *patricii*, in this sense. — **prope**: cf. 1, 25, 13.

11. **condicionibus**: *by an agreement, compromise.* — **sedatae sunt**: see on 5, 46, 1 *convertit*. — **praetore**: in 242 B.C. a second praetor was added, one having charge of cases between citizens (*praetor urbanus*), the other of cases in which one or more of the parties were foreigners (*praetor peregrinus*). The number was constantly increased until under Julius Caesar there were sixteen. A plebeian held the office for the first time in 337 B.C. — **patribus** = *nobilitate*, the whole class of patricians.

rem senatus censeret esse, meritoque id, si quando umquam alias, deum inmortalium fore, ut ludi maximi fierent et dies unus ad triduum adiceretur, recusantibus id munus aedili- 13
bus plebis, conclamatum a patriciis est iuvenibus se id honoris deum inmortalium causa libenter facturos, ut aediles fierent. Quibus cum ab universis gratiae actae essent, 14
factum senatus consultum, ut duoviros aediles ex patribus dictator populum rogaret, patres auctores omnibus eius anni comitiis fierent.

12. **si . . . alias**: see on 1, 28, 4. — **deum inmortalium**: connect with *merito; according to the merit of the gods, i.e.* as they deserved. — **ut . . . adiceretur**: this clause was anticipated in *dignam*, but the intervening words, *merito . . . fore*, unless they are to be taken as entirely parenthetical, compel us to explain it as a substantive clause, in app. with *id.* — **ludi maximi**: first celebrated, according to Livy 1, 35, 9, by Tarquinius Priscus, — *sollemnes* (celebrated in fulfillment of a vow), *deinde annui, mansere ludi, Romani magnique varie appellati.* They came to be celebrated regularly in the fall, and the number of days, originally one, was constantly increased until, under Augustus, the celebration continued from the 4th of September to the 15th; see on 45, 1, 2. After they were regularly established as an annual festival, they were called *ludi Romani.* They included a procession, chariot races, athletic contests, and, after 364 B.C., dramatic performances.

13. **recusantibus**: as the state furnished the money, it is hard to find a reason for this refusal; probably this is an attempt to explain another concession on the part of the plebeians. — **aedilibus plebis**: first appointed in 494 as assistants of the tribunes, but their powers had been gradually increased; they had a general supervision of certain festivals. — **ut**: *provided that;* cf. Sen. *Ben.* 2, 15, 1 *dabo egenti, sed ut ipse non egeam.*

14. **aediles**: curule aediles were elected by the *comitia tributa*, and some years later acquired membership in the senate. The patricians relinquished in a few years the exclusive right to the office. — **rogaret**: used with two accusatives in the technical sense, *to propose for election.* — **auctores**: see on § 10.

BOOK VII

Beginning of the Drama

1 2. Et hoc et insequenti anno C. Sulpicio Petico, C.
2 Licinio Stolone consulibus pestilentia fuit. Eo nihil dig-
364 B.C num memoria actum, nisi quod pacis deum exposcendae
causa tertio tum post conditam urbem lectisternium fuit.
3 Et cum vis morbi nec humanis consiliis nec ope divina
levaretur, victis superstitione animis ludi quoque scaenici,
nova res bellicoso populo — nam circi modo spectaculum
fuerat —, inter alia caelestis irae placamina instituti di-

Book VII. **2.** References: Val. Max. 2, 4, 4. Teuffel, *Hist. of Roman Lit.*, trans. by Warr, 1, 3–28. Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Republic*, 37–42, 52–58. Nettleship, *Essays*, 61–66. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, 2, 97–99; 3, 135 ff.

2. 1. C. Licinio Stolone: his colleague in the tribuneship, L. Sextius, had been consul two years before, in 366, the first plebeian who held the office.

2. eo: *i.e.* the year of the consulship just mentioned. — **pacis**: *favor*; see on 1, 16, 3. — **tertio**: *for the third time*; the usual adverb in this sense is *tertium*. The first *lectisternium* was celebrated in 399 after consultation of the Sibylline Books. The date of the second is unknown. — **lectisternium**: a sacrifice offered to the gods in times of great distress; images of the gods were placed on couches, food was placed before them, and prayers were offered at all the shrines.

3. quoque: with reference not to *lectisternium*, but to the following *inter alia*. — **nova res**: no doubt there had been before this rude performances of a more or less dramatic nature, especially at the festivals of rural gods, but they had never been given officially before, or with any formality. Verg. *Georg.* 2, 385 ff.; Hor. *Epist.* 2, 145–146; Tibull. 2, 1, 51 ff. It is probable that this innovation is to be connected with the extension of the *ludi Romani* and the appointment of curule aediles to manage the festival; see 6, 42, 12–14. — **circi**: the valley of the Circus Maximus, between the Palatine and the Aventine, was used for games, according to the tradition, as early as Romulus, but no seats were constructed until the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. — **spectacu-**

cuntur. Ceterum parva quoque, ut ferme principia omnia, 4
et ea ipsa peregrina res fuit. Sine carmine ullo, sine imitandorum carminum actu ludiones, ex Etruria acciti, ad tibicinis modos saltantes haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant. Imitari deinde eos iuventus simul inconditis inter 5
se iocularia fundentes versibus coepere, nec absoni a voce motus erant. Accepta itaque res saepiusque usurpando 6
excitata. Vernaculis artificibus, quia ister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum; qui non, sicut 7
ante, Fescennino versu similem inconpositum temere ac

lum: chariot races and athletic contests.

4. **quoque**: with reference to *peregrina*; see on § 3 and cf. 4, 49, 6 *Bolas quoque, sicut Labicos, coloni mitterentur*. — **et . . . peregrina**: *and imported at that*. — **sine carmine . . . actu**: *with no words, and with no action to express the meaning of words; i.e.* it was neither play nor pantomime, but only a dance. — **ludiones**: lit., *players*, but here *dancers*; another form is *ludius*. Tac. *Ann.* 14, 21 *maiores quoque non abhorruisse spectaculorum oblectamentis pro fortuna quae tum erat, eoque a Tuscis accitos histriones*. — **dabant**: see on 5, 38, 3.

5. **imitari . . . coepere**: Livy treats the earlier and purely original efforts of the Romans as not coming properly under the head of the drama; cf. § 7 and see on § 3 *nova res*. — **inconditis**: see on 5, 49, 7; rude verses in the Saturnian meter, a native Roman production. — **coepere**: for the number see on 2, 28, 9.

6. **accepta . . . excitata**: *thus the drama was introduced and through frequent practice gathered strength*. — **usurpando**: a loose and awkward use of the abl. of the gerund; see on 1, 5, 6 *comparando* and cf. 9, 5, 11 *experiundo*. — **artificibus**: cf. our use of the word "artist" as applied to players, musicians, etc. — **ludio**: a word of general meaning, which might have been applied to any one who took part in *ludi*; *histrio* is the regular word for *actor*. — **histrionibus**: see on 1, 1, 3 *Troiano*.

7. **sicut ante**: referring to the young men of § 5. This section describes the third stage in the development of the drama, the first being represented by the Etruscan dancers, the second by the *iuventus* of § 5. — **Fescennino**: Hor. *Epist.* 2, 1, 145–146 *Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem Versibus alternis opprobria*

rudem alternis iaciebant, sed inpletas modis saturas descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu motuque congruenti perage-
8 bant. Livius post aliquot annis, qui ab saturis ausus est

rustica fudit. The name is probably connected with that of the Etruscan town Fescennium (cf. § 11 *Atellanis*), though the reason for this connection is not clear. This was one of the primitive forms of native Latin comedy, consisting of rude dialogue in Saturnian verse with appropriate gestures and dancing. As the Romans had long been familiar with this sort of performance, it is hard to see why Livy regards the arrival of the Etruscan dancers and the subsequent exhibitions of the young men as a real invention, and as marking the introduction of the drama; what he describes in § 5 is not different from the *Fescennini versus.* — **versu**: dat. with *similem*; cf. 9, 5, 6 *exercitu.* The word does not mean here a particular kind of verse, but the whole performance, usually expressed by the plural. — **similem**: sc. *versum.* — **inconpositum temere**: *with a careless lack of continuity*; *conpositum temere* would have meant the same thing, but it seems better to connect *temere* with *inconpositum* than with *iaciebant.* — **alternis**: an adverb; *versibus* is not to be supplied, though the meaning is the same as in the passage from Horace quoted above; the two actors recited alternate lines. — **iaciebant**: note the contrast between the meaning of this word and that of *peragebant.* — **inpletas modis**: *all in verse.* — **saturas**: *satura* (sc. *fabula* and cf. *lex satura*, *lanx satura*) was another primitive form of Latin comedy, — a variety show, including probably recitation, singing, and dancing. Livy here applies the word to a more definite form of entertainment, approaching the legitimate drama, all in verse, properly adapted to a musical accompaniment. It may be said here that certain recent writers have discredited all statements regarding a native Roman drama (*satura*, *fabula Atellana*, etc.), believing them to be based upon an attempt to parallel the theories of Aristotle and other Greek writers.

8. **Livius**: Livius Andronicus came to Rome as a slave after the capture of Tarentum in 272. He was freed and became a teacher of Greek and Latin. Besides translating the Odyssey into Latin saturnians, he translated Greek plays, especially tragedies, into Latin, using the simpler meters of the originals. The first public performance of a play of this sort was in 240 B.C. — **post aliquot annis**: grammatically connected

primus argumento fabulam serere, idem scilicet, id quod omnes tum erant, suorum carminum actor, dicitur, cum 9
saepius revocatus vocem obtudisset, venia petita puerum ad canendum ante tibicinem cum statuisset, canticum egisse aliquanto magis vigente motu, quia nihil vocis usus impediebat. Inde ad manum cantari histrionibus coeptum, 10
diverbiaque tantum ipsorum voci relicta. Postquam lege 11
hac fabularum ab risu ac soluto ioco res avocabatur et

with *egisse*, but in sense rather with the whole sentence. The structure of this sentence is remarkable, in that the important fact is expressed in a relative clause, *qui . . . serere*, and is made subordinate to the statement of a custom that must have been of brief popularity. For the meaning of *aliquot*, see on 2, 32, 4. — **ab saturis**: *after the satires;* those described in § 7. For this use of *ab*, see on 1, 1, 4. — **argumento fabulam serere**: *to compose a play with a plot;* see on 3, 44, 9. *argumento* is abl. of means. This is the fourth stage in the development of the drama. — **idem**: often used referring to a person or thing just mentioned, introducing an additional fact or a restriction; thus used, it is often well translated *moreover* or *however;* cf. 21, 43, 17; 39, 40, 6.

9. **cum saepius . . . statuisset**: for the asyndeton see on 3, 52, 5. — **venia petita**: *after asking permission.* — **canticum**: passages which were sung or chanted to a musical accompaniment; the device of Livius was to have a younger member of the company give the words of these musical parts, while he supplied the action. The importance of gesture in the speech of southern Europe is well illustrated by the adoption of this practice. In the fully developed drama the name *canticum* was applied to all parts not in iambic trimeter, the latter, which was without musical accompaniment, being known as *diverbium.*

10. **ad manum . . . coeptum**: *the songs began to be sung to the gesticulation of the actors. histrionibus* is dat. of interest; Lane, 1207. How long this custom survived cannot be said. If it still prevailed in the time of Plautus and Terence, it could be applied to the *cantica* only in a limited sense, *i.e.* to the purely lyrical passages. — **diverbia**: see on § 9.

11. **lege**: *regulation;* referring to all the improvements of Andronicus that made the drama what is with us known technically as "legitimate." — **histrionibus**: professionals. — **fabellarum**: different

ludus in artem paulatim verterat, iuventus histrionibus fabellarum actu relicto ipsa inter se more antiquo ridicula intexta versibus iactitare coepit; quae exodia postea appel-
12 lata consertaque fabellis potissimum Atellanis sunt. Quod genus ludorum ab Oscis acceptum tenuit iuventus nec ab histrionibus pollui passa est; eo institutum manet, ut actores Atellanarum nec tribu moveantur et stipendia,
13 tamquam expertes artis ludicrae, faciant. Inter aliarum

from *fabula* in that it almost always means *story*, rarely *play*; it suggests here, therefore, the narrative of a regular play, as opposed to the trivial and disconnected efforts of the young men. — **inter se**: cf. § 5 and § 7 *alternis*. — **ridicula**: cf. § 5 *iocularia*. — **iactitare**: cf. § 7 *iaciebant*. This was a revival of the Fescennine verses. — **exodia**: afterpieces, following regular plays, as at Athens tragedies were followed by a satyr play. — **consertaque . . . sunt**: *were merged exclusively in the Atellan plays*. For *potissimum* see on *Praef.* 7. Livy means that the Fescennine verses were replaced by plays of a more definite nature, though the use of *conserta* would indicate that the characteristic humorous and responsive elements of the former were retained. There are two explanations of the name of the Atellan plays. Either the form of the play was adopted from the town of Atella in Campania, or it was a native Roman production, the scene being laid in Atella. There is a similar question about the Fescennine verses; see on § 7. The Atellan plays were burlesques with stock characters; the general plot was arranged in advance, the details were improvised. Early in the first century B.C. they began to receive literary treatment and then came to be used as *exodia*.

12. **Oscis**: the general name of the inhabitants of Samnium and their descendants in Campania, Apulia, and Lucania. Livy, then, did not regard the Atellan play as a native production. — **ab histrionibus pollui**: professional actors were in disrepute, and no Roman citizen could appear on the stage without being disgraced; it seems that for a time an exception was made in favor of the Atellan plays, but after they came to be used as *exodia* and were presented before a paying public, it is probable that they too were given over to professionals. — **stipendia faciant**: *serve in the army*. — **artis ludicrae**: the actor's profession.

parva principia rerum ludorum quoque prima origo ponenda visa est, ut adpareret quam ab sano initio res in hanc vix opulentis regnis tolerabilem insaniam venerit.

Beginning of the Samnite Wars

29. Maiora iam hinc bella et viribus hostium et longin- 1
quitate regionum vel temporum [spatio] quibus bellatum 343 B.C.
est, dicentur. Namque eo anno adversus Samnites, gentem opibus armisque validam, mota arma; Samnitium bel- 2
lum ancipiti Marte gestum Pyrrhus hostis, Pyrrhum Poeni secuti. Quanta rerum moles! quotiens in extrema periculorum ventum ut in hanc magnitudinem, quae vix sustinetur, erigi imperium posset! Belli autem causa cum 3
Samnitibus Romanis, cum societate amicitiaque iuncti essent, extrinsecus venit, non orta inter ipsos est. Sam- 4

13. **vix . . . tolerabilem**: though old-fashioned Romans had always looked askance at the drama and until 55 B.C. had prevented the erection of a permanent theater in the city, by the end of the first century B.C. plays were being produced with great display and at great expense; see *Praef.* 9.

29–31. References: Niebuhr, 3, 107–127. Lewis, 2, 411–423. Ihne, 1, 335–341. Mommsen, 1, 453–459.

29. 1. **iam hinc**: see on 2, 1, 1. — **longinquitate**: like *longinquus*, used of both space and time. — **quibus**: with two antecedents, *regionum* and *temporum*; therefore combining the functions of a loc. abl. and an abl. of duration of time. — **Samnites**: numerous tribes of the same Italic stock, occupying the mountainous region of central Italy, east of Latium and Campania; they all spoke the Oscan language, but their political union was a loose one.

2. **ancipiti Marte**: the war continued with interruptions from 343 to 290. Two centuries later the Samnites were again conspicuous in the Social War and were finally defeated at the Colline Gate in 82. — **extrema periculorum**: see on 5, 38, 4 and cf. 21, 34, 7. — **ut . . . posset**: cf. *Praef.* 9.

3. **Romanis**: see on 1, 7, 1 *Remo*. — **societate**: Rome had made a treaty of alliance with the Samnites in 400.

nites Sidicinis iniusta arma, quia viribus plus poterant, cum intulissent, coacti inopes ad opulentiorum auxilium
5 confugere Campanis sese coniungunt. Campani magis nomen ad praesidium sociorum quam vires cum attulissent, fluentes luxu ab duratis usu armorum in Sidicino pulsi
6 agro, in se deinde molem omnem belli verterunt. Namque Samnites omissis Sidicinis ipsam arcem finitimorum Campanos adorti, unde aeque facilis victoria, praedae atque gloriae plus esset, Tifata, inminentis Capuae colles, cum praesidio firmo occupassent, descendunt inde quadrato agmine in planitiem quae Capuam Tifataque interiacet.
7 Ibi rursus acie dimicatum; adversoque proelio Campani intra moenia conpulsi, cum robore iuventutis suae acciso nulla propinqua spes esset, coacti sunt ab Romanis petere auxilium.

1 30. Legati introducti in senatum maxime in hanc sententiam locuti sunt: "Populus nos Campanus legatos ad

4. Sidicinis: in northern Campania and western Samnium.

5. fluentes: *enervated.* The difference is very striking between the highly civilized and luxurious Campanians, and the hardy mountaineers of Samnium.

6. arcem: in app. with *Campanos*; cf. 3, 45, 8. — **unde** = *e quibus*; see on 1, 24, 2. — **aeque**: *i.e.* as easy as a victory over the Sidicini. — **esset**: informal indirect discourse, expressing the thought of the Samnites; therefore, the subjunctive; see on 6, 35, 1 *speraret*. — **Tifata**: a range of hills east of Capua. — **quadrato agmine**: *marching in order of battle.* — **interiacet**: for a different construction with this verb see 21, 30, 11.

30. 1. maxime: *approximately*; cf. 25, 31, 11. In speeches of this sort, which are a prominent characteristic of Livy's work, the author, like Thucydides and other ancient historians, does not pretend to give the exact words of the original. In many cases, if such a speech had been delivered at all, it had entirely disappeared, and what Livy gives is all his own composition. Sometimes he inserts speeches quite arbitrarily, thinking thus to portray a character or describe a situation more effectively. — **locuti**

vos, patres conscripti, misit amicitiam in perpetuum, auxilium praesens a vobis petitum. Quam si secundis rebus 2
nostris petissemus, sicut coepta celerius, ita infirmiore vinculo contracta esset; tunc enim, ut qui ex aequo nos venisse in amicitiam meminissemus, amici forsitan pariter ac nunc, subiecti atque obnoxii vobis minus essemus; nunc, 3
misericordia vestra conciliati auxilioque in dubiis rebus defensi, beneficium quoque acceptum colamus oportet, ne ingrati atque omni ope divina humanaque indigni videamur. Neque hercule, quod Samnites priores amici socii- 4
que vobis facti sunt, ad id valere arbitror, ne nos in amicitiam accipiamur, sed ut vetustate et gradu honoris nos praestent; neque enim foedere Samnitium ne qua nova iungeretis foedera cautum est. Fuit quidem apud 5
vos semper satis iusta causa amicitiae, velle eum vobis amicum esse, qui vos adpeteret; Campani, etsi fortuna 6
praesens magnifice loqui prohibet, non urbis amplitudine, non agri ubertate ulli populo praeterquam vobis cedentes, haud parva, ut arbitror, accessio bonis rebus vestris in

sunt: the chief man of the embassy is supposed to speak for all; see § 4 *arbitror* and cf. 7, 31, 3.

2. **sicut coepta celerius**: *though it (amicitia) might have been arranged more quickly;* the Romans would have been more ready to form an alliance with a prosperous people. — **tunc**: serving as the protasis for *essemus* and contrasted with *nunc* in this and the following sections. — **ut qui**: see on *Praef.* 4.

3. **nunc**: cf. 1, 28, 9.

4. **quod . . . facti sunt**: the argument of the envoys is fallacious; they were asking the Romans to undertake at least a defensive war against a people with whom they had entered into alliance. — **valere**: cf. 38, 28, 6 *metus ad omnes valuit, ne deditionem recusarent.* — **vetustate . . . nos praestent**: for the construction cf. 5, 36, 4.

5. **velle**: sc. *vos* as subject; *that you wished him who sought you to be your friend.*

6. **urbis**: Capua, the prosperous capital of Campania; cf. 7, 31, 1.

7 amicitiam venimus vestram. Aequis Volscisque, aeternis hostibus huius urbis, quandocumque se moverint, ab tergo erimus, et quod vos pro salute nostra priores feceritis, id
8 nos pro imperio vestro et gloria semper faciemus. Subactis his gentibus quae inter nos vosque sunt, quod prope diem futurum spondet et virtus et fortuna vestra, continens im-
9 perium usque ad nos habebitis. Acerbum ac miserum est quod fateri nos fortuna nostra cogit: eo ventum est, patres conscripti, ut aut amicorum aut inimicorum Campani simus.
10 Si defenditis, vestri, si deseritis, Samnitium erimus; Capuam ergo et Campaniam omnem vestris an Samnitium
11 viribus accedere malitis, deliberate. Omnibus quidem, Romani, vestram misericordiam vestrumque auxilium aequum est patere, iis tamen maxime, qui, ea inplorantibus aliis [auxilium] dum supra vires suas praestant, *ante*
12 omnes ipsi in hanc necessitatem venerunt. Quamquam pugnavimus verbo pro Sidicinis, re pro nobis, cum videremus finitimum populum nefario latrocinio Samnitium peti et, ubi conflagrassent Sidicini, ad nos traiecturum illud
13 incendium esse. Nec enim nunc, quia dolent iniuriam

The surrounding district was famous for its pleasant climate and the fertility of its soil.

7. **Aequis Volscisque**: dat. of interest with *ab tergo erimus*. — **quod . . . faciemus**: *salute* is contrasted with *imperio* and *gloria*, *priores* with *semper*; in fact, every word in the first clause has its correspondent in the second.

8. **prope diem**: an idiomatic adverbial phrase, often spelled as one word.

9. **amicorum**: the poss. gen. already suggests the complete surrender of their independence, cf. § 2.

10. **defenditis, deseritis**; pres. for fut. in a conditional clause, though it is the regular English idiom, is comparatively rare in Latin.

11. **ea**: *i.e. misericordiam* and *auxilium*. — **aliis . . . praestant**: see 7, 29, 5.

12. **re pro nobis**: sc. *pugnavimus*.

13. **nec enim**: not like the

acceptam Samnites, sed quia gaudent oblatam sibi esse causam, oppugnatum nos veniunt. An, si ultio irae haec 14
et non occasio cupiditatis explendae esset, parum fuit, quod semel in Sidicino agro, iterum in Campania ipsa legiones nostras cecidere? Quae est ista tam infesta ira, quam per 15
duas acies fusus sanguis explere non potuerit? Adde huc populationem agrorum, praedas hominum atque pecudum actas, incendia villarum ac ruinas, omnia ferro ignique vastata; hiscine ira expleri non potuit? Sed cupiditas explenda 16
est. Ea ad oppugnandam Capuam rapit; aut delere urbem pulcherrimam aut ipsi possidere volunt. Sed vos 17
potius, Romani, beneficio vestro occupate eam quam illos habere per maleficium sinatis. Non loquor apud recusantem iusta bella populum; sed tamen, si ostenderitis auxilia vestra, ne bello quidem arbitror vobis opus fore. Vsque 18
ad nos contemptus Samnitium pervenit, supra non escendit; itaque umbra vestri auxili, Romani, tegi possumus, quidquid deinde habuerimus, quidquid ipsi fuerimus, vestrum id omne existimaturi. Vobis arabitur ager Campanus, 19
vobis Capua urbs frequentabitur; conditorum, parentium, deorum inmortalium numero nobis eritis; nulla colonia vestra erit quae nos obsequio erga vos fideque superet.

Greek *καὶ γάρ* introducing a statement that explains the preceding one; *enim* is here used with its early intensive force, *in fact.*

14. **an, si . . . fuit**: cf. 9, 9, 12.

15. **hominum**: taken as slaves. — **villarum**: *farms;* in the fourth century B.C. Campania was not covered with Roman villas as it was in Livy's time.

16. **hiscine**: see on 1, 3, 2.

17. **occupate, sinatis**: cf. 3, 21, 6 *aliorum exemplo peccate potius quam alii vestro recte faciant.* — **ostenderitis**: note the emphatic position.

18. **umbra**: cf. 38, 51, 4. — **id omne**: *i.e.* what we have and what we are; cf. 25, 6, 23 *quidquid postea vivimus, id omne destinatum ignominiae est.*

20 Adnuite, patres conscripti, nutum numenque vestrum invictum Campanis et iubete sperare incolumem Capuam
21 futuram. Qua frequentia omnium generum multitudinis prosequente creditis nos illinc profectos? quam omnia votorum lacrimarumque plena reliquisse? in qua nunc expectatione senatum populumque Campanum, coniuges
22 liberosque nostros esse? Stare omnem multitudinem ad portas viam hinc ferentem prospectantes certum habeo. Quid illis nos, patres conscripti, sollicitis ac pendentibus
23 animi renuntiare iubetis? Alterum responsum salutem, victoriam, lucem ac libertatem, alterum — ominari horreo quae ferat. Proinde ut aut de vestris futuris sociis atque amicis aut nusquam ullis futuris nobis consulite."

1 **31.** Submotis deinde legatis cum consultus senatus esset, etsi magnae parti urbs maxima opulentissimaque Italiae, uberrimus ager marique propinquus ad varietates annonae horreum populi Romani fore videbatur, tamen tanta utilitate fides antiquior fuit, responditque ita ex auctoritate

20. adnuite nutum numenque: the verb has two objects of kindred derivation, but, by a sort of zeugma, the relation of the first object to the verb is different from that of the second; *adnuite nutum* means *nod assent*, the noun adding nothing to the meaning of the verb; *adnuite numen* means *grant the assistance of your power*.

22. stare . . . prospectantes: Livy shows a keen dramatic sense in the description of such scenes. — **animi**: locative; cf. 6, 36, 8 *stupentes animi*; 7, 34, 4 *territo animi*; Lane, 1339.

23. nusquam ullis futuris: *will not exist at all*; cf. 6, 18, 8 *nullus repente fui*.

31. 1. consultus: by the consul. — **uberrimus ager**: Flor. 1, 11, 3 *omnium non modo Italiae sed toto orbe pulcherrima Campaniae plaga est, nihil mollius caelo . . . nihil uberius solo*. — **marique propinquus**: so that transportation to Rome would be easy. — **ad varietates annonae**: *in view of the irregularity of the corn supply*; for this use of *ad* see on 5, 37, 5. — **fides**: see on 7, 30, 4. — **antiquior**: *stronger*; cf. 1, 32, 2 *antiquissi-*

senatus consul: "Auxilio vos, Campani, dignos censet 2
senatus; sed ita vobiscum amicitiam institui par est, ne
qua vetustior amicitia ac societas violetur. Samnites no-
biscum foedere iuncti sunt; itaque arma, deos prius quam
homines violatura, adversus Samnites vobis negamus;
legatos, sicut ius fasque est, ad socios atque amicos preca- 3
tum mittemus ne qua vobis vis fiat."

Ad ea princeps legationis — sic enim domo mandatum
attulerant —: "quando quidem" inquit "nostra tueri ad-
versus vim atque iniuriam iusta vi non vultis, vestra certe
defendetis; itaque populum Campanum urbemque Capuam, 4
agros, delubra deum, divina humanaque omnia in vestram,
patres conscripti, populique Romani dicionem dedimus,
quidquid deinde patiemur, dediticii vestri passuri." Sub 5
haec dicta omnes, manus ad consules tendentes, pleni
lacrimarum in vestibulo curiae procubuerunt. Conmoti 6
patres vice fortunarum humanarum, si ille praepotens opi-
bus populus, luxuria superbiaque clarus, a quo paulo ante
auxilium finitimi petissent, adeo infractos gereret animos
ut se ipse suaque omnia potestatis alienae faceret. Tum 7
iam fides agi visa deditos non prodi; nec facturum aequa
Samnitium populum censebant, si agrum urbemque per
deditionem factam populi Romani oppugnarent. Legatos

mum (*most important*) *ratus sacra publica . . . facere*. Cf. the meaning of *vetustior* in § 2.

2. **deos . . . violatura**: *i.e.* they would violate not only the Samnites but, what was more serious, the oaths sworn in the name of the gods.

5. **sub**: in such phrases *sub* means *just before*, as in 5, 39, 7, or *just after*, as here. — **vestibulo**: see on 5, 41, 8. — **curiae**: see on 2, 23, 11.

6. **conmoti**: sc. *sunt*. — **vice**: *change*; for a different meaning see on 1, 25, 6. — **si**: see on 2, 28, 2.

7. **tum iam**: *besides now*; sc. *the proposal of the Campanians having been accepted*. — **fides agi**

8 itaque extemplo mitti ad Samnites placuit. Data mandata, ut preces Campanorum, responsum senatus amicitiae Samnitium memor, deditionem postremo factam Samnitibus 9 exponerent; peterent pro societate amicitiaque ut dediticiis suis parcerent neque in eum agrum qui populi Romani fac- 10 tus esset hostilia arma inferrent; si leniter agendo parum proficerent, denuntiarent Samnitibus populi Romani senatusque verbis ut Capua urbe Campanoque agro abstinerent. 11 Haec legatis agentibus in concilio Samnitium adeo est ferociter responsum ut non solum gesturos se esse dicerent id bellum, sed magistratus eorum e curia egressi stantibus legatis praefectos cohortium vocarent iisque clara voce 12 imperarent ut praedatum in agrum Campanum extemplo proficiscerentur.

Book IX

Battle of the Caudine Pass

1 **1.** Sequitur hunc annum nobilis clade Romana Caudina 2 pax, T. Veturio Calvino, Sp. Postumio consulibus. Sam- 321 B.C. nites eo anno imperatorem C. Pontium, Herenni filium,

visa: *honor seemed to be at stake*; Livy apparently did not recognize the absurdity in his use of this word under the present circumstances.

10. leniter agendo: cf. 3, 50, 12. — **populi Romani senatusque**: the order is unusual, but occurs elsewhere in Livy. — **verbis**: see on 3, 50, 15.

11. concilio: a meeting of representatives from the various Samnite tribes, — *Caudini*, *Pentri*, *Caraceni*, and *Hirpini*. — **praefectos cohortium**: a name applied later to officers appointed by the consuls to command the auxiliaries; here used loosely of the Samnite commanders.

Book IX. **1–11.** References: Dion. Hal. 16, 3 ff. Appian, *Samn.* 4. Oros. 3, 15. Niebuhr, 3, 210–223. Lewis, 2, 445–459. Ihne, 1, 395–400. Mommsen, 1, 470–473.

habuerunt, patre longe prudentissimo natum, primum ipsum bellatorem ducemque. Is, ubi legati qui ad dedendas res missi erant pace infecta redierunt, "ne nihil actum" inquit "hac legatione censeatis, expiatum est quidquid ex foedere rupto irarum in nos caelestium fuit. Satis scio, quibuscumque dis cordi fuit subigi nos ad necessitatem dedendi res quae ab nobis ex foedere repetitae fuerant, iis non fuisse cordi tam superbe ab Romanis foederis expiationem spretam. Quid enim ultra fieri ad placandos deos mitigandosque homines potuit quam quod nos fecimus? Res hostium in praeda captas, quae belli iure nostrae videbantur, remisimus; auctores belli, quia vivos non

1. 1. nobilis: *famous;* cf. 22, 7, 1. — **pax**: it was guaranteed by the consuls and other officers in order to save their army (see 9, 5, 4); but it was not ratified by the senate, and there was therefore, strictly speaking, no peace.

2. C. Pontium: the name is of course Latinized; the Oscan form was *Gavios Pompties*. — **Herenni**: a *praenomen;* in 23, 43, 9 it is a *nomen*. — **primum**: *of the first rank.*

3. legati: after an overwhelming defeat in the preceding year, the Samnites had sent envoys to Rome to offer restitution (*ad dedendas res*); the Romans had accepted the prisoners and such articles of plunder as were identified by their owners, but refused to entertain proposals of peace. — **ne . . . censeatis**: a parenthetical clause of purpose; see on 1, 28, 5 *teneat*. — **foedere**: the one made at the end of the First Samnite War in 341, which, according to Livy, had been violated by the Samnites in 327. — **irarum**: see on 1, 7, 2.

4. dis: the gods were witnesses (cf. § 7 *arbitris*) of the treaty and exacted restitution from those who violated it. — **cordi fuit**: *it was pleasing;* a peculiar use of the predicate dative; cf. the use of *frugi* as an indeclinable adjective, and for a full discussion of such datives see Roby's *Latin Grammar*, Part 2, Preface, p. xxv ff. — **repetitiae fuerant**: by the gods; the Romans had made no demands. For the form of the verb see on 1, 2, 1.

5. in praeda: *as plunder;* cf. the similar use of *in beneficio; e.g.* 4, 7, 9 *tribuni quoque plebi certamen sine effectu in beneficio apud primores patrum reliquere.*

6. auctores: according to Livy

potuimus, perfunctos iam fato dedidimus; bona eorum, ne quid ex contagione noxae remaneret penes nos, Romam
7 portavimus. Quid ultra tibi, Romane, quid foederi, quid dis arbitris foederis debeo? Quem tibi tuarum irarum, quem meorum suppliciorum iudicem feram?] Neminem
8 neque populum neque privatum fugio. Quod si nihil cum potentiore iuris humani relinquitur inopi, at ego ad deos vindices intolerandae superbiae confugiam et precabor ut
9 iras suas vertant in eos quibus non suae redditae res, non alienae adcumulatae satis sint; quorum saevitiam non mors noxiorum, non deditio exanimatorum corporum, non bona sequentia domini deditionem exsatient; *qui* placari nequeant, nisi hauriendum sanguinem laniandaque viscera
10 nostra praebuerimus. Iustum est bellum, Samnites, quibus necessarium, et pia arma quibus nulla nisi in armis relinqui-
11 tur spes. Proinde, cum rerum humanarum maximum momentum sit, quam propitiis rem, quam adversis agant dis,

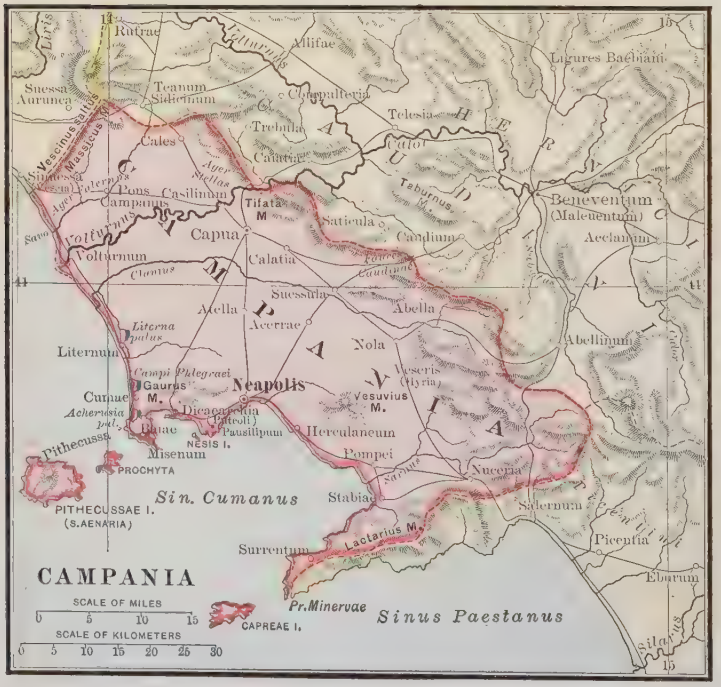
8, 39, 12 ff. only one man, Brutulus Papius, was named as the instigator of the war, and the Samnites decided to surrender him to the Romans; he, however, committed suicide, and they delivered his body, together with his property. In this passage Livy has in mind another tradition, the one followed by Appian, that several authors of the war were named and their bodies surrendered. — **noxae**: *guilt*; connect with both *quid* and *contagione*.

7. **arbitris**: the word means more than *witnesses*. The gods were judges, who determined whether or not the conditions had been fulfilled, and, if not, inflicted punishment. — **feram**: *propose*; a reference to the custom of appointing an arbitrator to decide between two parties in dispute. — **neminem**: *i.e.* as judge.

8. **cum**: *in his relations with*. — **at ego**: see on 1, 28, 9. — **vindices**: cf. 2, 24, 2.

10. **iustum, pia**: the first adj. has reference to man, the second to the gods. — **necessarium**: the Romans had gladly accepted an excuse for war and now threatened the complete subjugation of the Samnites.

11. **momentum**: *influence, determining factor*; the subject of


CAMPANIA
SCALE OF MILES
0 5 10 15
SCALE OF KILOMETERS
0 5 10 15 20 25 30
Rufrae
Allifae
Ligures Baebiani
Suessa Aurunca
Teanum Sidicinum
Compulteria
Telesia
Trebula
Cales
Caiatia
Calor
Ager Stellas
Pons Campanus
Casilinum
Tifata M
Taburnus M.
Beneventum (Maleuentum)
Saticula
Capua
Candium
Aeclanum
Volturnus
Calatia
Caudinae
Suessula
Abella
Acerrae
Nola
Abellinum
Literna palus
Liternum
Campi Phlegraei
Gaurus M.
Neapolis
Vesuvius M.
Cumae
Acherusia pal.
Dicaearchia (Puteoli)
Pausilipum
Baiae
NESIS I.
Herculaneum
Pithecussae
Misenum
Pompei
PROCHYTA
Nuceria
Sin. Cumanus
Stabiae
Salernum
PITHECUSSAE I. (S.AENARIA)
Lactarius M.
Surrentum
Picentia
Eburum
Pr.Minervae
Sinus Paestanus
CAPREAE I.
Silarus

pro certo habete priora bella adversus deos magis quam homines gessisse, hoc quod instat ducibus ipsis dis gesturos."

2. Haec non laeta magis quam vera vaticinatus exercitu 1
educto circa Caudium castra quam potest occultissime
locat; inde ad Calatiam, ubi iam consules Romanos castra- 2
que esse audiebat, milites decem pastorum habitu mittit
pecoraque diversos, alium alibi, haud procul Romanis
pascere iubet praesidiis; ubi inciderint in praedatores, ut 3
idem omnibus sermo constet: legiones Samnitium in
Apulia esse, Luceriam omnibus copiis circumsedere, nec
procul abesse, quin vi capiant. Iam is rumor, et ante de 4
industria vulgatus, venerat ad Romanos, sed fidem auxere
captivi, eo maxime, quod sermo inter omnes congruebat.
Haud erat dubium, quin Lucerinis opem Romanus ferret, 5

sit is the following clause, the question whether they are acting with or without the approval of the gods. — **agant**: sc. *homines*. — **gesisse, gesturos**: sc. *vos*, and for the omission of the subject cf. 9, 10, 10.

2. 1. **circa**: *near*. — **Caudium**: in the western part of Samnium, on the line of the *Via Appia*, which was constructed from Rome to Capua nine years after the battle at Caudium, and later extended to Brundisium. There was an earlier road here at this time.

2. **Calatiam**: in Campania, about fifteen miles west of Caudium, also on the line of the *Via Appia*. — **diversos**: explained by *alium alibi*.

3. **ut . . . constet**: introduced by *iubet; i.e.* he gave orders that all should tell the same story. Livy uses with *iubeo* the inf., the subj. with *ut*, and the subj. alone. For the meaning of *constet* cf. the common phrase *ratio constat; idem* is unnecessary. — **Luceriam**: an important town in northwestern Apulia, where a Roman force had been operating in the previous year. — **abesse**: impersonal; cf. 1, 5, 6.

4. **de industria**: Livy uses many adverbial phrases of this sort; for the similar use of an adj. with the prep. see on 1, 25, 9 and compare 9, 7, 10.

5. **Romanus**: see on 1, 27, 10 *Veientem*. — **ferret**: *must carry*; cf. 21, 36, 4. — **bonis . . . sociis**:

bonis ac fidelibus sociis, simul ne Apulia omnis ad praesentem terrorem deficeret; ea modo, qua irent, consultatio
6 fuit. Duae ad Luceriam ferebant viae, altera praeter oram superi maris, patens apertaque, sed quanto tutior, tanto
7 fere longior, altera per furculas Caudinas, brevior. Sed ita natus locus est: saltus duo alti, angusti silvosique sunt, montibus circa perpetuis inter se iuncti; iacet inter eos

the Apulians had entered into alliance with Rome in 326, but had revolted in 323; we are not informed as to the action of Luceria, but, to explain this passage, we must assume that it had not participated in the revolt, or that it had been conquered and had renewed the alliance. The adjectives *bonis* and *fidelibus* make the former explanation the more probable. — **simul**: introducing a second reason for their decision; the first is given in *bonis . . . sociis*. — **ad**: see on 5, 37, 5 and cf. 7, 31, 1. — **ea consultatio** = *consultatio de ea re*; cf. 3, 34, 7 *ea expectatio*.

6. **altera . . . maris**: to reach this road and avoid Samnium altogether, a long detour would have been necessary, through Campania, southern Latium, and the countries of the Marsi, Paeligni, and Frentani. The shorter road led directly across Samnium. The distance from Calatia by the longer road was approximately 175 miles, by the shorter 65 miles. — **patens apertaque**: *wide and open*. — **furculas Caudinas**: usually identified with a narrow defile between the modern villages of Arpaja and Montesarchio, the latter probably occupying the site of the ancient Caudium.

7. **natus**: *formed by nature*; cf. 22, 4, 2. — **saltus duo** etc.: the topography is not unlike that of the battleground at Lake Trasumennus (cf. 22, 4, 2), except that here there are mountains on the south as well as on the north. The road passes through a defile, emerges into an inclosed plain, then enters a second defile. — **circa**: for the attributive use of the adv. cf. 21, 37, 2, and for the meaning, *on both sides*, cf. 26, 11, 7. — **inter se iuncti**: *i.e.* unbroken chains of mountains extended on both sides from the beginning of the first defile to the end of the second. Livy was evidently not familiar with the region. The first defile was probably the valley now called Valle Caudina. The *campus* was the opening through which runs the little river Isclero (see § 13); here there was a break in the mountains on the north, of which Livy did not know, and we

satis patens, clausus in medio, campus herbidus aquosusque, per quem medium iter est; sed antequam venias ad 8
eum, intrandae primae angustiae sunt, et aut eadem qua te insinuaveris retro via repetenda aut, si ire porro pergas, per alium saltum, artiorem inpeditioremque, evadendum.

In eum campum via alia per cavam rupem Romani de- 9
misso agmine cum ad alias angustias protinus pergerent, saeptas deiectu arborum saxorumque ingentium obiacente mole invenere. Cum fraus hostilis adparuisset, praesidium etiam in summo saltu conspicitur. Citati inde retro qua 10
venerant pergunt repetere viam; eam quoque clausam sua obice armisque inveniunt. Sistunt inde gradum sine ullius imperio, stuporque omnium animos ac velut torpor quidam insolitus membra tenet, intuentesque alii alios, cum al- 11
terum quisque conpotem magis mentis ac consili ducerent, diu inmobiles silent; deinde, ubi praetoria consulum erigi 12
videre et expedire quosdam utilia operi, quamquam ludibrio fore munientes perditis rebus ac spe omni adempta cerne-

are therefore not told how that was guarded. The second defile was the one in which Montesarchio is located. — **patens**: *broad*; cf. § 6. — **in medio**: the substantive use of this adj. is very common in Livy; cf. 5, 41, 2.

8. venias: see on *Praef.* 10. — **angustiae**: note how repetition is avoided by the use of *angustiae*, *via*, and *saltus*, all referring to the same thing. — **ire pergas**: cf. 21, 30, 1. — **alium**: for *alterum*; cf. 1, 25, 5; so *alia* and *alias* in the next section.

9. demisso: *led down*; cf. 26, 9, 12. — **deiectu**: see on 21, 37, 2 *deiectis*. — **saxorumque**: the noun depends upon *mole*, and the conjunction connects *deiectu* and *mole*. — **etiam**: connecting *fraus* and *praesidium*. — **in summo saltu**: at the head of the pass beyond the barricade.

10. citati: adj. for adv.; see on *Praef.* 11 and cf. 2, 10, 3 *citatos decurrere hostes vidisset*. — **sua**: referring to *via*. — **armisque**: there was a body of Samnites at this end also.

11. alterum quisque: an unusual combination; *each one regarded his neighbor*.

12. fore: sc. *se* as subject.

13 bant, tamen, ne culpam malis adderent, pro se quisque nec hortante ullo nec imperante ad muniendum versi castra propter aquam vallo circumdant, sua ipsi opera laborem-
14 que inritum, praeterquam quod hostes superbe increpabant,
15 cum miserabili confessione eludentes. Ad consules maestos, ne advocantes quidem in consilium, quando nec consilio nec auxilio locus esset, sua sponte legati ac tribuni conveniunt, militesque ad praetorium versi opem, quam vix di inmortales ferre poterant, ab ducibus exposcunt.

1 3. Querentes magis quam consultantes nox oppressit, cum pro ingenio quisque fremerent, alius: "per obices viarum, per adversa montium, per silvas, qua ferri arma
2 poterunt, eamus, modo ad hostem pervenire liceat, quem per annos iam prope triginta vincimus; omnia aequa et plana erunt Romano in perfidum Samnitem pugnanti;"

13. **propter aquam**: see on § 7.

14. **praeterquam quod**: *besides the fact that.* — **eludentes**: *deriding.*

15. **legati**: these had at this time no well-defined official position, but accompanied a general as his advisers, and were assigned at times to the command of a part of the army. A *legatus* in this capacity is mentioned by Livy as early as 499 (2, 20, 8). — **tribuni**: there were six of these for each legion, young men of senatorial or equestrian rank. After the beginning of the civil wars, a *legatus* commanded each legion, the tribunes serving as his staff. — **praetorium**: the particular one in which the officers had gathered; cf. § 12.

3. 1. **pro ingenio**: *according to his nature.* — **fremerent**: the meaning of the word is broad enough to include the shout of the first man and the groan of the second. — **adversa montium** = *adversos montes*; see on 5, 38, 4 and cf. 27, 48, 12 *in adversum collem.* — **qua** = *quacumque.*

2. **modo** = *dummodo.* — **triginta**: an exaggeration; the first Samnite War had lasted only two years, and the second was now in its sixth year; only twenty-two years had passed since the beginning of the first war. — **vincimus**: the present is used, as commonly with *iam* and *iam dudum*, to represent the action as still continuing; Lane, 1589. — **aequa et plana**: the two adjectives are identical in meaning. — **perfidum**: see on 9, 1, 3.

alius: "quo aut qua eamus? Num montes moliri sede sua 3
paramus? Dum haec inminebunt iuga, qua tu ad hostem
venias? Armati inermes, fortes ignavi, pariter omnes capti
atque victi sumus; ne ferrum quidem ad bene moriendum
oblaturus est hostis; sedens bellum conficiet." His in 4
vicem sermonibus ~~qua~~ cibi, ~~qua~~ quietis inmemor nox tra-
ducta est.

Ne Samnitibus quidem consilium in tam laetis suppete-
bat rebus; itaque universi Herennium Pontium, patrem
imperatoris, per litteras consulendum censent. Iam is 5
gravis annis non militaribus solum sed civilibus quoque
abscesserat muneribus; in corpore tamen adfecto vigebat
vis animi consilique. Is ubi accepit ad furculas Caudinas 6
inter duos saltus clausos esse exercitus Romanos, consultus
ab nuntio fili censuit omnes inde quam primum inviolatos
dimittendos. Quae ubi spreta sententia est iterumque 7
eodem remeante nuntio consulebatur, censuit ad unum

3. **eamus, venias**: expressions of surprise and disapproval; hence the subjunctive; Lane, 1566. — **moliri**; *to move;* rarely found in this sense, in which the difficulty of the act is emphasized. — **tu**: not to be taken as a general question; the second man is answering the first, and meets his three propositions, — that they must get out, must meet the enemy, and will certainly conquer, — with the statements that escape is impossible, that they cannot reach the enemy, and that they will certainly be conquered. — **ad bene moriendum**: *i.e.* to give us a chance to die bravely; cf. 21, 42, 4. This despair is somewhat exaggerated, for the Samnites would certainly have had to fight if the Romans had attempted to scale the barrier and make their way out through the pass. See on 9, 4, 1.

4. **in vicem** = *inter se;* cf. 3, 71, 2 *multis in vicem cladibus*, and, for the attributive use of the adverb cf. 9, 2, 7 *circa*. — **inmemor nox**: for the use of *memor* qualifying an impersonal noun cf. 7, 31, 8. According to Appian they passed several days thus imprisoned.

6. **ad**: see on 1, 4, 7 and cf. 1, 20, 5 *ad quae templa sacra fierent*. — **exercitus**: the two consular armies; see § 10.

8 omnes interficiendos. Quae ubi tam discordia inter se velut ex ancipiti oraculo responsa data sunt, quamquam filius ipse in primis iam animum quoque patris consensuisse in adfecto corpore rebatur, tamen consensu omnium victus
9 est, ut ipsum in consilium acciret. Nec gravatus senex plaustro in castra dicitur advectus vocatusque in consilium ita ferme locutus esse, ut nihil sententiae suae mutaret,
10 causas tantum adiceret: priore se consilio, quod optimum duceret, cum potentissimo populo per ingens beneficium perpetuam firmare pacem amicitiamque; altero consilio in multas aetates, quibus amissis duobus exercitibus haud facile receptura vires Romana res *esset*, bellum differre; tertium nullum consilium esse.

11 Cum filius aliique principes percunctando exsequerentur, "quid, si media via consili caperetur, ut et dimitterentur
12 incolumes et leges iis iure belli victis inponerentur", "ista quidem sententia" inquit "ea est quae neque amicos parat nec inimicos tollit. Servate modo quos ignominia inrita-

8. **oraculo**: cf. 3, 34, 1. — **victus est, ut**: for a similar clause with the active *vicere* cf. 5, 36, 8; in both cases it is a substantive clause. — **in consilium**: *to a conference*; cf. the meaning of the word in § 10.

9. **nec gravatus**: *without reluctance*. — **plaustro**: see on 5, 40, 9.

10. **firmare**: *secured*; cf. 22, 46, 3. — **quibus**: abl. of time within which, here scarcely to be distinguished from the abl. of duration of time, which is found occasionally in Livy; see 1, 29, 6. — **res**: *the state*; cf. 1, 6, 3. — **differre**: he realized that it was simply a postponement; Romans and Samnites must at some time fight for the supremacy of Italy.

11. **percunctando exsequerentur**: *pressed him with questions*. — **quid**: *what would happen*; the apodosis is suppressed. — **media . . . consili**: an awkward periphrasis for *medium consilium*. — **iure belli**: in spite of its position, to be taken with *inponerentur*.

12. **ista**: *that of yours*. — **ea est quae**: *is one which*; introducing a simple relative clause. The same words below introduce a clause of characteristic, *is of such*

veritis: ea est Romana gens, quae victa quiescere nesciat. Vivet semper in pectoribus illorum quidquid istuc praesens 13
necessitas inusserit, nec eos ante multiplices poenas expetitas a vobis quiescere sinet."

4. Neutra sententia accepta Herennius domum e castris 1
est avectus; et in castris Romanis cum frustra multi conatus ad erumpendum capti essent et iam omnium rerum inopia esset, victi necessitate legatos mittunt qui primum 2
pacem aequam peterent; si pacem non inpetrarent, uti provocarent ad pugnam. Tum Pontius debellatum esse 3
respondit et, quoniam ne victi quidem ac capti fortunam fateri scirent, inermes cum singulis vestimentis sub iugum missurum; alias condiciones pacis aequas victis ac victori-

a nature that. — **servate**: *consider.* — **quae . . . nesciat**: cf. 26, 41, 9 *ea fato quodam data nobis sors est ut magnis omnibus bellis victi vicerimus*; and 27, 14, 1 *seu victus est, instaurat cum victoribus certamen.*

13. **vivet . . . quidquid istuc . . . inusserit** = *vivet . . . istuc, quidquid . . . inusserit.*

4. 1. **conatus . . . capti essent**: cf. 21, 29, 5 and 22, 5, 6 *impetus capti.* Cicero, Dio, and Appian all speak of a battle, but whether it occurred before the imprisonment of the Romans in the pass or in an attempt to escape, we are not told. That an important battle actually occurred and that Livy, for love of Roman glory, intentionally omits all reference to it is an almost inevitable conclusion. Niebuhr says that nowhere does Livy deserve severer censure than in this part of his history.

2. **pacem . . . pugnam**: it is hardly necessary to point out the absurdity of both propositions.

3. **quoniam . . . scirent**: cf. 9, 3, 12. — **victi . . . capti**: for the order see on 21, 43, 14 *caeso, victo, circumsesso.* — **cum singulis vestimentis**: *with only their tunics*; cf. 9, 6, 1 *seminudi* and Oros. 3, 15 *tantum singulis vilioribus operimentis ob verecunda corporum tegenda concessis.* — **iugum**: formed by fixing in the ground two spears and fastening a third across the top of these. — **alias**: for *ceteras* or *reliquas*; cf. 7, 26, 9 *inter primos . . . atrox proelium fuit; alia multitudo . . . terga vertit.* — **aequas**: *i.e.* he would impose upon the Romans no condition of tribute

4 bus fore: si agro Samnitium decederetur, coloniae abducerentur, suis inde legibus Romanum ac Samnitem aequo
5 foedere victurum; his condicionibus paratum se esse foedus cum consulibus ferire; si quid eorum displiceat, legatos redire ad se vetuit.

6 Haec cum legatio renuntiaretur, tantus gemitus omnium subito exortus est tantaque maestitia incessit ut non gravius accepturi viderentur, si nuntiaretur omnibus eo loco mortem
7 oppetendam esse. Cum diu silentium fuisset nec consules aut pro foedere tam turpi aut contra foedus tam necessarium loquere possent, tum L. Lentulus, qui princeps lega-
8 torum virtute atque honoribus erat: "patrem meum" inquit, "consules, saepe audivi memorantem se in Capitolio unum non fuisse auctorem senatui redimendae auro a Gallis civitatis, quando nec fossa valloque ab ignavissimo

or service of any sort; each nation should be independent.

4. **coloniae**: referring to colonies in southern Latium and Campania, *e.g.* Fregellae, colonized in 328, and Cales, in 334. There were of course as early as this no Roman colonies in Samnium.

5. **ferire**: cf. 1, 24, 3 *foedus ictum*; so also, in late Latin, *percutio*; the use of all these verbs is derived from the custom of sacrificing an animal when a treaty was made. Cf. the Greek σπονδή.

6. **haec . . . renuntiaretur**: *when the result of this embassy was reported*; cf. 7, 32, 1 *hac legatione Romam relata*. — **incessit**: for this absolute use of the verb cf. 2, 27, 10. — **accepturi**: the periphrastic form may take the place of either imperf. or plup. subj. in the apodosis of a non-occurrent condition; cf. 2, 1, 3 and 4. It is so difficult, however, to explain *nuntiaretur*, which would indicate a non-occurrent action coincident with *viderentur*, instead of the expected past action represented by the plup. subj., that it is perhaps better to explain *nuntiaretur* as a less vivid future protasis, of which *accepturi* would be the natural apodosis.

7. **Lentulus**: he had been consul in 327. Later members of the family had the cognomen *Caudinus*. — **legatorum**: see on 9, 2, 15.

8. **se . . . civitatis**: not mentioned by Livy in 5, 48, 8. — **nec**

ad opera ac muniendum hoste clausi essent et erumpere si non sine magno periculo, tamen sine certa pernicie possent. Quod si, ut illis decurrere ex Capitolio armatis in hostem licuit, quo saepe modo obsessi in obsidentes eruperunt, ita nobis aequo aut iniquo loco dimicandi tantummodo cum hoste copia esset, non mihi paterni animi indoles in consilio dando deesset. Equidem mortem pro patria praeclaram esse fateor et me vel devovere pro populo Romano legionibusque vel in medios [me] inmittere hostes paratus sum; sed hic patriam video, hic quidquid Romanarum legionum est, quae, nisi pro se ipsis ad mortem ruere volunt, quid habent quod morte sua servent? 'Tecta urbis' dicat aliquis 'et moenia et eam turbam a qua urbs incolitur.' Immo hercule produntur ea omnia deleto hoc exercitu, non servantur. Quis enim ea tuebitur? inbellis videlicet atque inermis multitudo. Tam hercule, quam a Gallorum impetu defendit. An a Veis exercitum Camillumque ducem inplorabunt? Hic omnes spes opesque sunt, quas servando patriam servamus, dedendo ad necem patriam deserimus ac prodimus. 'At foeda atque ignominiosa deditio est.' Sed ea caritas patriae est ut tam ignominia eam quam morte nostra, si opus sit, servemus. Subeatur ergo ista,

9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

. . . **et** = *et non . . . et*; cf. 1, 4, 4.

9. **armatis**: cf. 3, 50, 6 *liberae*. — **indoles**: *boldness*; see on 1, 3, 1 and cf. 9, 6, 12.

10. **devovere**: see on 5, 41, 3. — **vel . . . hostes**: as this would be included in *devovere* (see 9, 17, 13), there is no contrast between the two members. Two explanations have been offered, — the second member is an interpolation, or the second *vel* has taken the place of an original *et*.

11. **pro se ipsis**: *i.e.* to save themselves from disgrace. Usually soldiers were called upon to sacrifice their lives for their country; now they must preserve their lives but sacrifice honor; cf. § 15.

14. **an . . . inplorabunt**: see 5, 46, 4 ff.; cf. 22, 3, 10.

15. **ea** = *talis*.

quantacumque est, indignitas et pareatur necessitati, quam ne di quidem superant. Ite, consules, redimite armis civitatem, quam auro maiores vestri redemerunt."

1 5. Consules profecti ad Pontium in conloquium, cum de foedere victor agitaret, negarunt iniussu populi foedus fieri posse nec sine fetialibus caerimoniaque alia sollemni. 2 Itaque non, ut vulgo credunt Claudiusque etiam scribit, 3 foedere pax Caudina, sed per sponsionem facta est. Quid enim aut sponsoribus in foedere opus esset aut obsidibus,

16. necessitati: *fate*. — **auro**: cf. § 8.

5. 1. negarunt . . . posse: the terms were, however, discussed and settled in the senate, and the decision of the senate would probably be approved without question by the people. — **fetialibus**: a college of priests whose chief duty was to make declaration of war and to preside at the ratification of peace; Cic. *Leg.* 2, 9, 21 *foederum, pacis, belli, indutiarum oratores fetiales indicesque sunto; bella disceptanto*. The agreement of the Romans and Albans (1, 24, 3) was ratified in this way. At the conclusion of the Second Punic War, *fetiales* were sent to Africa carrying herbs (*verbenae*) gathered on the Capitoline Hill and flint stones for killing the sacrificial victim (30, 43, 9). — **caerimonia**: this collective use of the singular is very rare; there appears to be no other example in Livy.

2. Claudius: Claudius Quadrigarius lived at the end of the second and beginning of the first centuries B.C., and wrote a history of Rome from the invasion of the Gauls, bringing it down at least as late as the year 82. Only fragments are preserved. Livy seems to have used Claudius especially for the second half of his first decade and for the fourth and fifth decades. — **sponsionem**: an agreement in which the two parties pledged themselves that the terms would be carried out. There was, then, no definite treaty, but a promise on the part of the consuls that the proposed conditions would be accepted by the Roman people. If Livy is correct, it is apparent that Pontius had absolute confidence in the honor of the consuls and in their ability to fulfill their promises; otherwise he would never have given up his great advantage.

3. sponsoribus: and yet a *foedus* was sometimes guaranteed by the general and his officers; *e.g.*

ubi precatione res transigitur, per quem populum fiat, quo minus legibus dictis stetur, ut eum ita Iuppiter feriat, quem ad modum a fetialibus porcus feriatur? Spoponderunt 4
consules, legati, quaestores, tribuni militum, nominaque omnium qui spoponderunt extant, ubi, si ex foedere acta res esset, praeterquam duorum fetialium non extarent; et 5
propter necessariam foederis dilationem obsides etiam sescenti equites imperati, qui capite luerent, si pacto non staretur. Tempus inde statutum tradendis obsidibus exer- 6
cituque inermi mittendo.

Redintegravit luctum in castris consulum adventus, ut vix ab iis abstinerent manus, quorum temeritate in eum locum deducti essent, quorum ignavia foedius inde quam

the *foedus Numantinum*, which was, however, rejected by the senate just as the present *sponsio* was rejected. — **obsidibus**: these, too, were sometimes given in connection with a *foedus*; see 30, 37, 6. — **precatione**: *imprecation*; the formula of the curse follows, *per . . . feriatur*. — **per . . . stetur**: *the people whose actions were such that it did not abide by the terms agreed upon*. — **populum**: the antecedent of *quem*; see on *Praef.* 11 *civitatem*. — **legibus dictis**: cf. 33, 12, 2 *quas leges pacis placeret dici*. — **stetur**: impersonal; cf. § 5 and, for the active use of the verb in the same sense, 4, 44, 9 *stetit in eadem sententia*. — **Iuppiter**: it was the original conception that Jupiter, the god of lightning, struck with his thunderbolt those who violated their oaths. — **porcus**: the regular oath sacrifice; the *porca*, on the other hand, was for both Greeks and Romans the expiatory offering.

4. **legati**: see on 9, 2, 15. — **quaestores**: a *quaestor militaris* accompanied each consul. They had the care of the money for the campaign, paid the soldiers, took charge of the spoils, and in general occupied the same position in the field which the *quaestor urbanus* held in the city. — **ubi**: *whereas*. — **fetialium**: sc. *nomina*.

5. **foederis**: the officers pledged themselves that a formal treaty would be made; cf. 9, 10, 9. — **etiam**: in addition to the guarantee of the officers. — **staretur**: see on § 3.

6. **exercitu**: for this dat. form cf. 7, 2, 7 *versu*. — **mittendo**: sc. *sub iugum*. — **abstinerent**: sc. *mili-*

7 venissent abituri: illis non ducem locorum, non exploratorem fuisse; beluarum modo caecos in foveam lapsos.
8 Alii alios intueri, contemplari arma mox tradenda et inermes futuras dextras obnoxiaque corpora hosti; proponere sibimet ipsi ante oculos iugum hostile et ludibria victoris et vultus superbos et per armatos inermium iter,
9 inde foedi agminis miserabilem viam per sociorum urbes, reditum in patriam ad parentes, quo saepe ipsi maioresque
10 eorum triumphantes venissent: se solos sine vulnere, sine ferro, sine acie victos; sibi non stringere licuisse gladios, non manum cum hoste conferre; sibi nequiquam animos datos.
11 Haec frementibus hora fatalis ignominiae advenit, omnia tristiora experiundo factura quam quae praeceperant animis.
12 Iam primum cum singulis vestimentis inermes extra vallum exire iussi, et primi traditi obsides atque in custodiam ab-

tes. — **deducti essent, abituri**: these are the statements of the soldiers, not of Livy; for this informal ind. disc. see on 6, 35, 1 *speraret* and cf. 7, 29, 6 *esset*. With *abituri* sc. *essent*.

7. **locorum**: cf. Caes. *B.G.* 6, 17, 1 *hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem*.

8. **intueri**: the hist. inf. follows the inf. in ind. disc. without confusion because of the intervening nom. *alii*. — **proponere . . . oculos**: *they pictured to themselves*.

9. **parentes**: the soldiers were in general young men, at the most not over forty-five years of age, and were regularly called *iuvenes*; see on 1, 5, 7. — **eorum**: this rare use of the poss. gen. of the demonstrative in place of *suus* is explained by the fact that the writer is using his own point of view; Lane, 2370. — **venissent**: for the subj. see on § 6 *deducti essent*.

10. **conferre**: *conserere* is more common in this phrase. — **animos**: see on 1, 25, 3.

11. **frementibus**: sc. *eis*, which may be abl. abs., or dat. with *advenit*; cf. 21, 57, 3 *ita territis Sempronius consul advenit*. — **ignominiae**: either dat. depending upon *fatalis* or gen. with *hora*. — **experiundo**: a very loose use of the abl. of the gerund; see on 1, 5, 6; cf. 7, 2, 6 *usurpando* and 45, 32, 7 *quas ne usus quidem longo tempore, qui unus est legum corrector, experiendo argueret*.

ducti. Tum a consulibus abire lictores iussi paludamen- 13
taque detracta: *id* tantam inter ipsos, qui paulo ante eos
execrantes dedendos lacerandosque censuerant, miseratio- 14
nem fecit ut suae quisque condicionis oblitus ab illa defor-
matione tantae maiestatis velut ab nefando spectaculo
averteret oculos.

6. Primi consules prope seminudi sub iugum missi, tum 1
ut quisque gradu proximus erat, ita ignominiae obiectus,
tum deinceps singulae legiones. Circumstabant armati 2
hostes, exprobrantes eludentesque; gladii etiam plerisque
intentati, et vulnerati quidam necatique, si vultus eorum
indignitate rerum acrior victorem offendisset. Ita traducti 3
sub iugum et, quod paene gravius erat, per hostium oculos,
cum e saltu evasissent, etsi velut ab inferis extracti tum
primum lucem adspicere visi sunt, tamen ipsa lux ita de-
forme intuentibus agmen omni morte tristior fuit. Itaque 4
cum ante noctem Capuam pervenire possent, incerti de fide
sociorum et quod pudor praepediebat, circa viam haud

13. **paludamenta**: the general's cloak of purple and gold. In 1, 26, 2 Livy uses the word of the ordinary soldier's cloak. — **ipsos, qui**: for the omission of *eos* cf. 21, 45, 5.

6. 1. **seminudi**: see on 9, 4, 3.

2. **gladii . . . intentati**: *very many of them were threatened with swords*. For a different construction with *intento* see 3, 47, 7. — **necatique**: *and others were killed*; cf. 9, 18, 13 *denos vicenosque*; 9, 18, 9 *viveret moreretur que*; 27, 45, 5 *metumque*. — **offendisset**: iterative; see on 3, 36, 8.

3. **per hostium oculos**: *i.e.* through the midst of the enemy, who were watching them; cf. 2, 38, 3 *vestros liberos traductos per ora hominum*. — **visi sunt**: sc. *sibi*; the dat. is usually omitted only with the first person of *videri*. — **omni morte**: *every kind of death*; cf. 6, 22, 6 *materia ad omnem laudem*.

4. **Capuam**: about twenty-two miles from the pass. — **sociorum**: see 7, 31, 4. In spite of their promises they had aided the Latins in the Latin War, and, as a penalty, had been deprived of a part of their territory. — **circa**: *on both sides of*;

procul Capua omnium egena corpora humi prostraverunt.
5 Quod ubi est Capuam nuntiatum, evicit miseratio iusta
6 sociorum superbiam ingenitam Campanis. Confestim insignia sua consulibus, fasces lictoribus, arma, equos, vesti-
7 menta, commeatus militibus benigne mittunt; et venientibus Capuam cunctus senatus populusque obviam egressus iustis omnibus hospitalibus privatisque et publicis fungitur officiis.
8 Neque illis sociorum comitas vultusque benigni et adloquia non modo sermonem elicere, sed ne ut oculos quidem attollerent aut consolantes amicos contra intuerentur efficere
9 poterant; adeo super maerorem pudor quidam fugere conloquia et coetus hominum cogebat.

10 Postero die cum iuvenes nobiles, missi a Capua ut pro-
11 ficiscentes ad finem Campanum prosequerentur, revertissent vocatique in curiam percunctantibus maioribus natu multo sibi maestiores et abiectioris animi visos referrent: adeo
12 silens ac prope mutum agmen incessisse; iacere indolem illam Romanam, ablatosque cum armis animos; non red-

cf. 9, 2, 7. — **egena**: on the other hand, Appian says καί τινα ὑποζύγια ἔδωκεν (Πόντιος) αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς ἀρρωστοῦντας καὶ τροφὴν ἄχρι τῆς Ῥώμης φέρεσθαι. — **corpora**: see on 5, 47, 8.

5. **sociorum**: objective genitive. — **superbiam**: see 7, 31, 6.

6. **insignia . . . lictoribus**: see on 2, 1, 8. — **insignia sua**: *their proper insignia; i.e.* the *paludamenta*.

7. **iustis**: *proper;* cf. 1, 4, 4. — **privatisque et publicis**: see on *Praef.* 13.

8. **neque**: *but not;* see on 1, 27, 1. — **illis**: dat. of interest with *elicere*. — **quidem**: emphasizing the whole clause, as is indicated by the position of *ut* between *ne* and *quidem*. — **contra**: cf. 1, 16, 6.

10. **cum**: the effect of this word is felt through the rest of the chapter; this long introduction is summarized in § 1 of the next chapter, *cum haec dicerentur*, and the conclusion is finally reached in § 2.

11. **maioribus natu**: see on 1, 3, 2. — **maestiores**: than on the preceding day. — **visos**: sc. *Romanos*.

12. **indolem**: see on 1, 3, 1 and cf. 9, 4, 9. — **animos**: cf. 9, 5, 10.

dere salutem salutantibus, non dare responsum, non hiscere quemquam prae metu potuisse, tamquam ferentibus adhuc cervicibus iugum sub quod missi essent; habere Samnites victoriam non praeclaram solum sed etiam perpetuam; cepisse enim eos non Romam, sicut ante Gallos, sed, quod multo bellicosius fuerit, Romanam virtutem ferociamque: — 13

7. Cum haec dicerentur audirenturque et deploratum paene Romanum nomen in concilio sociorum fidelium esset, dicitur Ofillius Calavius, Ovi filius, clarus genere factisque, tum etiam aetate verendus, longe aliter se habere rem dixisse: silentium illud obstinatum fixosque in terram oculos et surdas ad omnia solacia aures et pudorem intuendae lucis ingentem molem irarum ex alto animi cientis indicia esse. Aut Romana se ignorare ingenia, aut silentium illud Samnitibus flebiles brevi clamores gemitusque excitaturum, Caudinaeque pacis aliquanto Samnitibus quam Romanis tristiorem memoriam fore; quippe suos quemque eorum animos habiturum, ubicumque congressuri sint; saltus Caudinos non ubique Samnitibus fore. 1 2 3 4 5

— **prae**: as always, of a preventive cause; see on 1, 29, 3.

13. **bellicosius**: *a more warlike deed*, indicating greater military power, and promising more permanent results.

7. 1. **deploratum paene**: *almost mourned as lost*; see on 5, 40, 6.

2. **Ofillius Calavius, Ovi**: all Oscan names; the first is not found elsewhere; the second as *cognomen*, the third as *praenomen*, are of frequent occurrence.

3. **ingentem . . . esse**: *were indications of a mind that was stirring from its depths a great flood of wrath.* — **irarum**: for the plural see on 1, 7, 2.

4. **aut . . . aut**: see on *Praef.* 11. — **tristiorem**: for the position of the comparative cf. 22, 4, 6 *densior*.

5. **animos**: see on 1, 25, 3. The implication is that the Roman spirit is better than the Samnite, and the Samnites, lacking the advantage they had secured at the Caudine Pass, will be ultimately conquered. — **saltus**: cf. 9, 2, 7.

6 Iam Romae etiam sua infamis clades erat. Obsessos primum audierunt; tristior deinde ignominiosae pacis magis 7 quam periculi nuntius fuit. Ad famam obsidionis dilectus haberi coeptus erat; dimissus deinde auxiliorum apparatus, postquam deditionem tam foede factam acceperunt, extemploque sine ulla publica auctoritate consensum in omnem 8 formam luctus est. Tabernae circa forum clausae, iustitiumque in foro sua sponte coeptum prius quam indictum; 9 lati clavi, anuli aurei positi; paene maestior exercitu ipso civitas esse nec ducibus solum atque auctoribus sponsoribusque pacis irasci sed innoxios etiam milites odisse et 10 negare urbe tectisve accipiendos. Quam concitationem

6. sua: referring to *Romani*, implied in *Romae*. — **magis**: simply repeating the comparative idea of *tristior* and emphasizing the contrast between *ignominiosae pacis* and *periculi*; *then more distressing was the report of the disgraceful peace, more than that of danger*.

7. ad: see on 1, 25, 6. — **haberi coeptus erat**: see on 2, 1, 4. — **auxiliorum**: referring here to the levy of Roman troops just mentioned; usually to the allies. — **apparatus**: for the somewhat unusual meaning of the word (= *dilectus*) cf. 21, 8, 1 *ab apparatu* (*construction*) *operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum*. — **in**: Livy regularly uses *ad* with *consentio*.

8. tabernae: see on 3, 48, 5. — **circa**: see on 9, 2, 7. — **iustitium**: a compound of *ius* and *sisto*; *cessation of legal business*. — **sua sponte**: used sometimes of things; cf. 2, 23, 2; 5, 43, 3. — **lati clavi**: the wide purple stripe of the senator's tunic, running down the front from the neck to the lower border; here the tunic itself. The laying aside of such insignia was a regular indication of public mourning; see on 3, 47, 1 *sordidatus* and cf. 43, 16, 14 *principes civitatis in conspectu populi anulis aureis positis vestem mutarunt*. — **anuli aurei**: senators and, later, knights had the *ius anuli aurei*, an exclusive privilege that was not encroached upon till toward the end of the republican period.

9. civitas: *citizens*; cf. 3, 47, 1. — **ducibus**: the consuls, whereas *auctoribus sponsoribusque* includes the other officers who had advised the peace and guaranteed the treaty. — **urbe tectisve**: loc. abl.; cf. 26, 9, 12; Lane, 1348.

10. ex insperato: see on 1, 25, 9. — **sero**: App. *Samn.* 4, 7 οἱ μὲν

animorum fregit adventus exercitus etiam iratis miserabilis. Non enim tamquam in patriam revertentes ex insperato incolumes, sed captorum habitu vultuque ingressi sero in urbem, ita se in suis quisque tectis abdiderunt ut postero 11
atque insequentibus diebus nemo eorum forum aut publicum aspicere vellet. Consules in privato abditi nihil pro 12
magistratu agere, nisi quod expressum senatus consulto est ut dictatorem dicerent comitiorum causa. Q. Fabium Ambustum dixerunt et P. Aelium Paetum magistrum equitum; 13
quibus vitio creatis suffecti M. Aemilius Papus dictator, L. 14
Valerius Flaccus magister equitum. Nec per eos comitia habita; et quia taedebat populum omnium magistratuum eius anni, res ad interregnum rediit. Interreges Q. Fabius

ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς διέφευγον ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆεσαν.

11. **publicum**: *the public*. There appears to be no other place where the word is used so definitely in a personal sense; cf. 2, 23, 8.

12. **in privato**: cf. 2, 24, 7 *ex privato*. — **pro magistratu**: *as magistrates*. — **dictatorem dicerent**: a dictator was appointed by the consuls when the senate deemed such action desirable, though the order of the senate was not legally necessary. Sometimes the two consuls acted together in making the appointment, at other times the task was intrusted to one of them chosen by lot. On the present occasion, it is unnecessary to assume that the consuls attended the meeting of the senate; the praetor may have presided, and the appointment of the dictator was regularly made privately during the night.

13. **dixerunt . . . magistrum equitum**: an inaccuracy of statement, as the *magister equitum* was appointed by the dictator.

14. **vitio**: a legal defect of any sort. The word is applied to any irregularity in the ceremonies attending the election of a magistrate or his assumption of office, especially to an unfavorable omen in the sacrifices offered on these occasions. — **quia . . . anni**: the year had been so disastrous that they were afraid that any election conducted by magistrates of the year would be inauspicious; cf. 6, 5, 6 *in civitate plena religionum, tunc etiam ab recenti clade superstitiosis principibus, ut renovarentur auspicia, res ad interregnum rediit*. — **interregnum**: during this

15 Maximus, M. Valerius Corvus. Is consules creavit Q. Publilium Philonem *tertium* et L. Papirium Cursorem iterum haud dubio consensu civitatis, quod nulli ea tempestate duces clariores essent.

8 1 8. Quo creati sunt die, eo — sic enim placuerat patribus — magistratum inierunt, sollemnibusque senatus consultis 2 perfectis de pace Caudina rettulerunt; et Publilius, penes quem fasces erant, "dic, Sp. Postumi," inquit. Qui ubi subrexit, eodem illo vultu quo sub iugum missus erat, 3 "haud sum ignarus" inquit, "consules, ignominiae, non

period a member of the senate, probably chosen by lot, — a privilege restricted, however, to patrician members, — assumed the powers of the consulship; his term of office was five days, at the end of which he was succeeded by another senator and so on until consuls were elected. This election took place in the *comitia centuriata*, under the direction of the *interrex*.

15. **creavit**: used regularly of the transfer of power by the *interrex* to the new consuls; cf. the similar use of *creare* in 3, 35, 8. — **Publilium**: consul in 339 and 327. — **Papirium**: consul in 327. Both appointments violated the law of 342, that no one should be elected to the same magistracy a second time within ten years. — **consensu**: the election was unanimous.

8. 1. **quo . . . die**: prior to 217 the consular year began at various times. The death or resignation of both consuls during their term of office sometimes necessitated an immediate election; the newly elected consuls entered upon their duties at once and served for a year from the time of taking office. From 217 to 154, consuls assumed their office regularly on March 15; after 154, on January 1. — **senatus consultis**: those relating to their inauguration and the division of their powers. In this early period, though the two consuls theoretically held equal power throughout the year, in practice, to avoid conflict, they assumed the initiative in alternate months, the older of the two taking the first month; cf. *penes . . . erant* in the next section and see on 2, 1, 8. So, when in command of an army, they alternated in power from day to day. — **rettulerunt**: *introduced the question*; the technical word with reference to the senate, and used occasionally of other deliberative bodies; cf. 2, 31, 8.

honoris causa me primum excitatum iussumque dicere, non tamquam senatorem, sed tamquam reum qua infelicis belli, qua ignominiosae pacis. Ego tamen, quando neque 4
de noxa nostra neque de poena rettulistis, omissa defensione, quae non difficillima esset apud haud ignaros fortunarum humanarum necessitatiumque, sententiam de eo de quo rettulistis paucis peragam; quae sententia testis erit, mihine an legionibus vestris pepercerim, cum me seu turpi seu necessaria sponsione obstrinxi, qua tamen, quando in- 5
iussu populi facta est, non tenetur populus Romanus, nec quicquam ex ea praeterquam corpora nostra debentur Samnitibus. Dedamur per fetiales nudi vinctique; exsolvamus 6
religione populum, si qua obligavimus, ne quid divini humanive obstet, quo minus iustum piumque de integro ineatur bellum. Interea consules exercitum scribere, armare, 7
educere placet nec prius ingredi hostium fines quam omnia iusta in deditione nostra perfecta erunt. Vos, di inmortales, precor quaesoque, si vobis non fuit cordi Sp. Postumium, T. Veturium consules cum Samnitibus prospere 8

3. **primum**: the opinions of senators were asked in regular order, according to the rank of the highest office which they had held. The most distinguished of the *consulares* was called first. In the present instance Postumius interprets correctly the fact that he is invited to speak first. — **tamquam**: *as;* more often it means *as if,* introducing an imaginary object of comparison.

4. **quando**: see on 3, 52, 10. — **esset**: *i.e.* if I saw fit to offer one; hence the imperfect subjunctive. — **peragam**: cf. 3, 47, 4 *postulatum perageret.* — **me**: emphatic; he is calling attention to the fact that he has sacrificed himself to save the legions.

5. **quando**: see on § 4. — **debentur**: agreeing with the nearest subject.

6. **fetiales**: see on 9, 5, 1. — **si qua obligavimus**: *if we have put them under any religious obligation;* cf. 9, 9, 4. — **iustum piumque**: referring chiastically to *divini* and *humani*.

7. **nec**: *but not;* cf. 1, 27, 1. — **iusta**: see on 9, 6, 7.

8. **cordi**: see on 9, 1, 4.

9 bellum gerere, at vos satis habeatis vidisse nos sub iugum missos, vidisse sponsione infami obligatos, videre nudos vinctosque hostibus deditos, omnem iram hostium nostris
10 capitibus excipientes; novos consules legionesque Romanas ita cum Samnite gerere bellum velitis, ut omnia ante nos consules bella gesta sunt."

11 Quae ubi dixit, tanta simul admiratio miseratioque viri incessit homines ut modo vix crederent illum eundem esse
12 Sp. Postumium qui auctor tam foedae pacis fuisset, modo miserarentur, quod vir talis etiam praecipuum apud hostes
13 supplicium passurus esset ob iram diremptae pacis. Cum omnes laudibus modo prosequentes virum in sententiam eius pedibus irent, temptata paulisper intercessio est ab
14 L. Livio et Q. Maelio, tribunis plebis, qui neque exsolvi religione populum aiebant deditione sua, nisi omnia Sam-
15 nitibus, qualia apud Caudium fuissent, restituerentur, neque se pro eo, quod spondendo pacem servassent exercitum populi Romani, poenam ullam meritos esse neque ad extremum, cum sacrosancti essent, dedi hostibus violarive posse.

11. **homines**: the senators.

12. **praecipuum**: not only was he consul, but the Samnites would probably be informed that he had advised the renewal of war. — **diremptae pacis**: see on 1, 3, 4 *coloniam deductam*, and 3, 50, 3 *strictum*.

13. **laudibus modo**: *with nothing but praise.* — **virum**: used, as in § 11, in place of the demonstrative pronoun, to emphasize his heroism. — **pedibus irent**: the senate voted by the process of division (*discessio*), those favoring the motion going to one side of the house, those opposing it to the other. — **intercessio**: the tribune's veto; a measure thus protested had no legal value, but was written down, and a record of it was preserved as representing the wish of a majority of the senate. In the present case the veto was withdrawn. These tribunes were among the *sponsores* of the peace, and, unless we assume that they had entered upon their office since the return of the army, they must have accompanied the army, as tribunes rarely did, for some special purpose.

9. Tum Postumius "interea dedite" inquit "profanos 1
nos, quos salva religione potestis; dedetis deinde et istos
sacrosanctos, cum primum magistratu abierint, sed, si me
audiatis, priusquam dedantur, hic in comitio virgis caesos, 2
hanc iam ut intercalatae poenae usuram habeant. Nam 3
quod deditione nostra negant exsolvi religione populum,
id istos magis, ne dedantur, quam quia ita se res habeat,
dicere quis adeo iuris fetialium expers est qui ignoret?
Neque ego infitias eo, patres conscripti, tam sponsiones 4
quam foedera sancta esse apud eos homines apud quos
iuxta divinas religiones fides humana colitur; sed iniussu
populi nego quicquam sanciri posse quod populum teneat.

15. **sacrosancti**: see on 2, 33, 1.

9. 1. **profanos nos**: see on 5, 46, 3 *neglegens gens*. — **salva religione**: *i.e.* without the sacrilege involved in the violation of the tribunes.

2. **in comitio**: *i.e.* in as public a place as possible. The Comitium was an open space projecting from the northern corner of the Forum; on the side away from the Forum and facing it was the senate-house, and in the southeast corner adjoining the Forum was the Rostra. — **intercalatae**: used humorously, and not elsewhere in this sense. *intercalare* is used of the more or less regular insertion of an extra month in the ordinary year of twelve months, a necessary device, as the Roman year, prior to 45 B.C., was several days shorter than the solar year. *intercalatae* here refers to the fact that a part of a year will be added to the time preceding the infliction of the penalty.

3. **iuris fetialium**: the decision, of course, would rest with the senate; the ceremony would be performed by the *fetiales*.

4. **infitias eo**: the noun occurs only in this phrase; acc. of limit of motion. — **sponsiones . . . fides humana**: note the emphasis gained by the chiastic arrangement. — **sancta**: *binding*, not *sacred*, since he does not regard the *sponsio* as a religious obligation. — **iuxta**: always an adv. in Livy except here and possibly in 39, 9, 6. — **sed iniussu . . . teneat**: he takes the position that the parties to a *sponsio* bind themselves only, not the states which they represent, — that it is a personal and legal obligation, not public or sacred. Elsewhere (*e.g.* 9, 41, 2) the *sponsio* appears to be a final arrangement, not merely the introduction to a

5 An, si eadem superbia qua sponsionem istam expresserunt nobis Samnites coegissent nos verba legitima dedentium urbes nuncupare, deditum populum Romanum vos, tribuni, diceretis et hanc urbem, templa, delubra, fines, aquas Sam-
6 nitium esse? Omitto deditionem, quoniam de sponsione agitur; quid tandem, si spopondissemus urbem hanc relicturum populum Romanum? si incensurum? si magistratus, si senatum, si leges non habiturum? si sub regibus futurum? Di meliora, inquis. Atqui non indignitas rerum spon-
7 sionis vinculum levat: si quid est in quod obligari populus possit, in omnia potest. Et ne illud quidem (quod quosdam

foedus; it is possible, however, that in these cases it had been preceded by senatorial sanction. Whatever was the custom, whatever freedom from obligation a literal interpretation of the agreement allowed, it is certain that in the present instance honor demanded that the senate should abide by the terms which the officers had made. Mommsen, however, says that it was right and necessary that the senate should reject the agreement. — **sanciri**: the regular word for the passage of a law, the ratification of a treaty, etc.

5. **verba . . . nuncupare**: the formula is given in 1, 38, 2 f. "*Estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo Conlatino, ut vos populumque Conlatinum dederetis?*" "*Sumus.*" "*Estne populus Conlatinus in sua potestate?*" "*Est.*" "*Deditisne vos populumque Conlatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia in meam populique Romani dicionem?*" "*Dedimus.*" "*At ego recipio.*"

6. **omitto . . . agitur**: *I say no more about surrender, as the discussion is on the subject of guarantee. deditionem* refers, not to the surrender at Caudium, but to such a one as that suggested in the previous section. The implication is that if they would not abide by the terms of a *deditio* made under such circumstances, they surely would not regard themselves as bound by a *sponsio*. — **di meliora**: sc. *dent*. — **inquis**: the 3d person *inquit* is used of more than one person, especially when introducing an objection to a statement just made; the 2d person appears not to be used elsewhere in this way. — **atqui**: the thought is this, that if a *sponsio* involving such disgrace is not binding, neither is a less sweeping one.

forsitan moveat, refert, consul an dictator an praetor spo-
ponderit. Et hoc ipsi etiam Samnites iudicaverunt, quibus 8
non fuit satis consules spondere, sed legatos, quaestores,
tribunos militum spondere coegerunt. Nec a me nunc 9
quisquam quaesiverit quid ita spoponderim, cum id nec
consulis ius esset, nec illis spondere pacem, quae mei non
erat arbitri, pro vobis, qui nihil mandaveratis, possem.
Nihil ad Caudium, patres conscripti, humanis consiliis ges- 10
tum est; di inmortales et vestris et hostium imperatoribus
mentem ademerunt. Nec nos in bello satis cavimus, et 11
illi male partam victoriam male perdiderunt, dum vix locis
quibus vicerant credunt, dum quacumque condicione arma
viris in arma natis auferre festinant. An, si sana mens 12
fuisset, difficile illis fuit, dum senes ab domo ad consultan-
dum accersunt, mittere Romam legatos? cum senatu, cum

7. **illud**: referring forward to the indirect question. — **moveat**: see on *Praef.* 12 *erunt*.

8. Postumius argues that if the word of the consul was not final, as the Samnites had themselves admitted, neither was that of other officials, and mere accumulation did not make the agreement binding.

9. **nec** = *et ne*; cf. 21, 43, 11; 22, 3, 10. — **quaesiverit**: for the tense see on 9, 11, 13.

10. **imperatoribus**: for the case, see on 1, 1, 1 *duobus*. The absurdity of this argument would not have appeared so great in antiquity as it seems to us. The Roman generals had not appreciated the military skill of the Samnites, and the latter had accepted promises of very doubtful value. But Postumius fails to note that the action of the Samnites was honorable, that of the Romans dishonorable.

11. **nec** = *et non*, the conjunction being correlative with *et* in the next clause. — **male partam**: the adv. refers to the Romans; a victory won through the folly of the conquered. — **dum**: see on *Praef.* 2. — **quibus**: ablative of means, or, since Livy often omits the prep., locative ablative. — **quacumque** = *quavis*; *i.e.* their one thought was to remove the arms, on any terms whatever, from men who knew so well how to use them. — **natis**: cf. 5, 37, 8.

12. **an . . . fuit**: cf. 7, 30, 14. — **fuisset, fuit**: for this combination see Lane, 2103. — **ab domo**:

13 populo de pace ac foedere agere? Tridui iter expeditis erat; interea in indutiis res fuisset, donec ab Roma legati aut victoriam illis certam aut pacem adferrent. Ea demum
14 sponsio esset quam populi iussu spopondissemus. Sed neque vos tulissetis nec nos spopondissemus nec fas fuit alium rerum exitum esse quam ut illi, velut somnio laetiore,
15 quam quod mentes eorum capere possent, nequiquam eluderentur et nostrum exercitum eadem quae inpedierat fortuna expediret, vanam victoriam vanior inritam faceret pax, sponsio interponeretur, quae neminem praeter sponsorem obligaret.

16 "Quid enim vobiscum, patres conscripti, quid cum populo Romano actum est? Quis vos appellare potest, quis se a vobis dicere deceptum? hostis an civis? Hosti nihil spopon-
17 distis, civem neminem spondere pro vobis iussistis. Nihil ergo vobis nec nobiscum est, quibus nihil mandastis, nec
18 cum Samnitibus, cum quibus nihil egistis. Samnitibus sponsores nos sumus rei satis locupletes in id quod nos-

see on 25, 31, 3. — **de pace ac foedere**: a peace secured by a treaty.

13. **tridui**: the distance is approximately one hundred and fifty miles. If the statement of 9, 4, 1 is correct, the Samnites would have had to supply the Romans with provisions during the six days' absence of the embassy. — **in indutiis res fuisset**: cf. 6, 13, 4 *peditum labor in persequendo fuit.* — **ab Roma**: see on 1, 27, 4.

14. **tulissetis**: *proposed.* — **fas**: cf. § 10. — **quam . . . possent**: cf. 27, 50, 7; 33, 22, 6.

15. **nequiquam**: does not negative *eluderentur*, but intensifies it; cf. 22, 43, 1 *nequiquam detecta fraude.* This use resembles the proleptic use of an adjective. — **vanam . . . vanior**: such repetition is common in Livy; cf. 33, 44, 7 *nisi avertisset vana spes, ex vaniore rumore orta.*

16. **appellare**: *to call to account*; cf. 9, 11, 3 and Cic. *Att.* 1, 8 *Tulliola tuum munusculum flagitat et me ut sponsorem appellat.* — **civem neminem**: *nemo* is rarely used as adj.; see on 27, 50, 2.

18. **nos**: note the effect of the emphatic repetition of the first person, — *nos, nostrum, nostra.* — **rei**: from *reus*, which has here the

trum est, in id quod praestare possumus, corpora nostra et animos; in haec saeviant, in haec ferrum, in haec iras acuant. Quod ad tribunos attinet, consulite utrum prae- 19
sens deditio eorum fieri possit an in diem differatur; nos interim, T. Veturi vosque ceteri, vilia haec capita luendae sponsioni feramus et nostro supplicio liberemus Romana arma."

10. Movit patres conscriptos cum causa tum auctor, nec 1
ceteros solum sed tribunos etiam plebei, ut se in senatus dicerent fore potestate. Magistratu inde se extemplo 2
abdicaverunt traditique fetialibus cum ceteris Caudium ducendi. Hoc senatus consulto facto lux quaedam adfulsisse civitati visa est. Postumius in orc erat, eum laudibus 3
ad caelum ferebant, devotioni P. Deci consulis, aliis claris facinoribus aequabant: emersisse civitatem ex obnoxia pace 4

rare meaning, *debtor*. — **locupletes**: the figure is a mercantile one; *rich enough as to that which is our own, as to that which we can offer*. — **in id**: cf. 21, 42, 2 and 32, 30, 8 *in id fides data*.

19. **in diem**: *to a future day; i.e.* until their term of office expired. — **liberemus**: he has maintained throughout his speech that the action of the officers has not been in any way binding upon the state, and yet at the very end he admits that the Romans cannot resume the war until the officers have surrendered themselves. It is evident that Roman sophistry, in which Postumius has shown himself such an adept, could not justify immediate resumption of the war. — **arma**: see on 22, 47, 1.

10. 1. **plebei**: see on 2, 33, 2.

2. **magistratu**: see on 2, 28, 9. — **senatus consulto**: according to Livy, the matter was decided by the senate, not by the people, as might be expected from 9, 9, 12 *cum populo*. Gell. 17, 21, 36, however, says the officers were sent back *populi iussu*.

3. **in ore**: usually with a dependent genitive, e.g. *omnium*. — **eum**: as object of *aequabant* this is an example of a common form of brachylogy; the meaning is, *they compared his heroism with the devotion* etc.; cf. 9, 18, 11. — **devotioni P. Deci**: see on 5, 41, 3. In 340, during the Latin War, P. Decius Mus had sacrificed himself to save the army.

4. **obnoxia pace**: in 6, 28, 7

illius consilio et opera; ipsum se cruciatibus et hostium
5 irae offerre piaculaque pro populo Romano dare. Arma
cuncti spectant et bellum: en umquam futurum ut con-
gredi armatis cum Samnite liceat?
6 In civitate ira odioque ardente dilectus prope omnium
voluntariorum fuit. Rescriptae ex eodem milite novae
7 legiones ductusque ad Caudium exercitus. Praegressi
fetiales ubi ad portam venere, vestem detrahi pacis spon-
soribus iubent, manus post tergum vinciri. Cum apparitor
verecundia maiestatis Postumi laxe vinciret, "quin tu"
8 "adducis lorum ut iusta fiat deditio!" Tum ubi in coetum
Samnitium et ad tribunal ventum Ponti est, A. Cornelius
9 Arvina fetialis ita verba fecit: "quandoque ~~hisce~~ homines
iniussu populi Romani Quiritium foedus ictum iri spopon-
derunt atque ob eam rem noxam ~~nocuer~~unt, ob eam rem,

the same phrase means a peace involving the subjection of one party; as this was not true of the terms proposed by the Samnites, the adj. must have here the less definite meaning, *ignominious*. This sentence emphasizes again the fact that the state was temporarily bound by the *sponsio* of the officers; see on 9, 9, 19.

5. **en**: closely connected with *umquam* (often written with it, *enumquam*), and expressing impatience. — **Samnite**: see on 1, 27, 10 *Veientem*.

6. **dilectus . . . fuit**: *there was a levy of men almost all volunteers*. — **rescriptae**: *enrolled again*; not used elsewhere in this sense.

7. **fetiales**: *i.e.* those accompanying the *sponsores*, who were sent ahead of the army. The omission of a statement to this effect is somewhat awkward and not characteristic of Livy's style. — **sponsoribus**: dat.; cf. 22, 47, 3. — **apparitor**: the general name for all attendants of the magistrates. — **quin tu**: see on 9, 18, 11. — **iusta**: cf. 9, 8, 7.

8. **fetialis**: it appears that at least two *fetiales* were always employed (see on 9, 5, 4), the leader and spokesman having the title *pater patratus*.

9. **hisce**: an old form of the nominative plural; archaisms are common in formulae; see on 1, 16, 3. — **populi Romani Quiritium**: see on 5, 41, 3. — **noxam nocuerunt**: another archaism. — **ob eam**

quo populus Romanus scelere impio sit solutus, hosce homines vobis dedo." Haec dicenti fetiali Postumius genu femur quanta maxime poterat vi perculit et clara voce ait se Samnitem civem esse, illum legatum fetialem a se contra ius gentium violatum; eo iustius bellum gesturos.

11. Tum Pontius "nec ego istam deditionem accipiam" inquit, "nec Samnites ratam habebunt. Quin tu, Spuri Postumi, si deos esse censes, aut omnia inrita facis aut pacto stas? Samniti populo omnes quos in potestate habuit aut pro iis pax debetur. Sed quid ego te appello, qui te captum victori cum qua potes fide restituis? Populum Romanum appello, quem si sponsionis ad furculas Caudinas factae paenitet, restituat legiones intra saltum quo saeptae fuerunt. Nemo quemquam deceperit; omnia pro infecto sint; recipiant arma, quae per pactionem tradiderunt; redeant in castra sua; quidquid pridie habuerunt quam in conloquium est ventum, habeant; tum bellum et fortia consilia placeant,

rem: referring to the following clause; *with this purpose*.

10. **fetiali**: see on 1, 5, 6 *Numitori*. — **maxime**: cf. 21, 41, 4. Livy usually has the adj. *maximus* agreeing with *quantus*; see 42, 15, 1. — **Samnitem**: this act of Postumius can appear only unnecessary and absurd, and his statement that he is a Samnite is not correct; he was in the power of the enemy, but not one of them. Cic. *Caec.* 98 *quem pater patratus dedidit, . . . cum est acceptus, est eorum quibus est deditus*. — **contra ius gentium**: which protected the fetials. — **gesturos**: *i.e.* the Romans; cf. 9, 1, 11.

11. 1. **ratam habebunt**: *admit its validity*.

2. **omnia inrita facis**: *i.e.* restore all things to the condition in which they were before the *sponsio*. The same suggestion was made by the tribunes in 9, 8, 14.

3. **appello**: see on 9, 9, 16. — **captum**: proleptic. — **cum qua . . . fide**: see on 1, 16, 3 *precibus*. — **quem si** = *qui, si eum*; cf. 21, 41, 8. — **saeptae fuerunt**: see on 1, 2, 1.

4. **nemo . . . deceperit**: a delicate generalization; only the Romans had been guilty of deceit. — **pro infecto**: cf. 1, 3, 2 *pro certo*. — **pridie . . . quam**: a rare combination.

5 tum sponsio et pax repudietur. Ea fortuna, iis locis, quae
ante pacis mentionem habuimus, geramus bellum, nec popu-
lus Romanus consulum sponsionem nec nos fidem populi
6 Romani accusemus. Numquamne causa defiet cur victi
pacto non stetis? Obsides Porsinnae dedistis: furto eos
subduxistis; auro civitatem a Gallis redemistis: inter acci-
7 piendum aurum caesi sunt; pacem nobiscum pepigistis ut
legiones vobis captas restitueremus: eam pacem inritam
facitis. Et semper aliquam fraudi speciem iuris inponitis.
8 Non probat populus Romanus ignominiosa pace legiones
servatas; pacem sibi habeat, legiones captas victori resti-
tuat; hoc fide, hoc foederibus, hoc fetialibus caerimoniis
9 dignum erat. Vt quidem tu quod petisti per pactionem
habeas, tot cives incolumes, ego pacem quam hos tibi remit-
tendo pactus sum non habeam, hoc tu, A. Corneli, hoc vos,
10 fetiales, iuris gentibus dicitis? Ego vero istos quos dedi
simulatis nec accipio nec dedi arbitror nec moror, quo
minus in civitatem obligatam sponsione commissa, iratis

5. quae . . . habuimus: referring to both *fortuna* and *locis*.

6. defiet: *defio*, in place of *deficior*, is a colloquialism, not found elsewhere in Livy. — **obsides**: the story is told in 2, 13, 6 ff., but the release of the hostages is there ascribed to the courage of Cloelia and the generosity of Porsinna. — **auro . . . caesi sunt**: see 5, 48, 8 f. In 6, 11, 5 Manlius says *ille (Furius) inter aurum accipiendum et in spem pacis solutis animis Gallos adgressus sit.*

8. non probat: equivalent to a condition, of which *habeat* and *restituat* are the conclusion. — **sibi habeat**: *keep, i.e.* take back, annul. — **erat**: the imperf. indic. is sometimes used to indicate a non-occurrent action in present time; Lane, 1497.

9. ut quidem: *but that; quidem* sometimes introduces a thought which is in opposition to what precedes. — **tibi**: dat. of interest with *remittendo*. — **iuris**: part. gen. with *hoc*.

10. nec dedi arbitror: he means that the surrender of the officers is of no importance unless the army is restored to its dangerous position. — **sponsione commissa**:

omnibus dis quorum eluditur numen, redeant. Gerite 11
bellum, quando Sp. Postumius modo legatum fetialem genu perculit. Ita di credent Samnitem civem Postumium, non civem Romanum esse et a Samnite legatum Romanum violatum; eo vobis iustum in nos factum esse bellum. Haec 12
ludibria religionum non pudere in lucem proferre et vix pueris dignas ambages senes ac consulares fallendae fidei exquirere! I, lictor, deme vincla Romanis; moratus sit 13
nemo, quo minus, ubi visum fuerit, abeant." Et illi quidem, forsitan et publica, sua certe liberata fide ab Caudio in castra Romana inviolati redierunt.

Alexander the Great. General Survey of Roman Military Successes.

17. Nihil minus quaesitum a principio huius operis 1
videri potest, quam ut plus iusto ab rerum ordine declina-

by participation in an agreement. — **dis**: those invoked in the *sponsio*.

12. **haec ludibria religionum**: *this travesty of religion. religionum* is obj. gen.; cf. 1, 7, 2 *ludibrio fratris*. — **pudere**: inf. of exclamation. — **fallendae fidei**: dat. of purpose.

13. **moratus sit nemo**: the pres. subj., not the perf., is the regular thing in prohibitions unless the verb is in the 2d person sing.; cf., however, 9, 9, 9 *quaesiverit*. — **forsitan et publica**: here for the first time Livy expresses doubt as to the honorable nature of the Roman position.

The war was immediately resumed by the consuls, Publilius and Papirius. The former won a victory in Samnium; the latter marched into Apulia, where he was soon joined by his colleague, and together they laid siege to Luceria. When the consuls had overrun and secured a large part of Apulia and cut off the supplies of the besieged, the town surrendered. In the next year Papirius, who had been again elected consul (though it is admitted that there is some doubt as to the identity), took the town of Satricum, which had revolted to the Samnites, and then returned to Rome to celebrate a triumph. Livy discusses at some length the character and ability of Papirius, and says that he was regarded as the one who

rem varietatibusque distinguendo opere et legentibus velut deverticula amoena et requiem animo meo quaererem;
2 tamen tanti regis ac ducis mentio, quibus saepe tacitis cogitationibus volutavi animum, eas evocat in medium, ut quaerere libeat quinam eventus Romanis rebus, si cum Alexandro foret bellatum, futurus fuerit.
3 Plurimum in bello pollere videntur militum copia et virtus, ingenia imperatorum, fortuna per omnia humana,
4 maxime in re bellica potens; ea et singula intuenti et universa, sicut ab aliis regibus gentibusque, ita ab hoc quoque facile praestant invictum Romanum imperium.
5 Iam primum, ut ordiar ab ducibus conparandis, haud equidem abnuo egregium ducem fuisse Alexandrum; sed

could successfully resist Alexander the Great, if the latter, having finished the conquest of Asia, should proceed into Italy.

17. 1. **varietatibus**: abl. of means with *distinguendo*. — **legentibus . . . animo meo**: chiastic. — **requiem**: after the more serious and monotonous labor of tracing the chronological progress of Roman history.

2. **cogitationibus**: see on *Praef.* 11 *in quam civitatem*. — **volutavi animum**: an unusual expression; elsewhere in Livy always *aliquid in animo* (or without the prep.) *volutare*. — **quinam**: *nam* here has its early intensive force, easy to express orally by stress of voice, but difficult to translate; cf. the similar use of the Greek γάρ in the combination τίς γάρ. — **futurus fuerit**: representing *futurus fuit* (Lane, 2100), the subj. being due to the fact that it is an indirect question.

3. **ingenia imperatorum**: according to Cic. *de imp. Pomp.* 28 the four qualities of the great general are *scientiam rei militaris*, *virtutem*, *auctoritatem*, *felicitatem*. — **fortuna . . . potens**: Caes. *B.G.* 6, 30, 2 expresses the same idea, *multum cum in omnibus rebus*, *tum in re militari potest fortuna*, and again in *B.C.* 3, 68, 1.

4. **ea**: obj. of *intuenti*, qualified by *singula* and *universa*; another *ea* must be supplied as subject of *praestant*. — **intuenti**: the dat. of relation (Lane, 1217), here equivalent to a protasis; cf. 9, 19, 8 *partienti*.

5. **iam primum**: see on 1, 1, 1. — **quod unus fuit**: he shared

clariorem tamen eum facit, quod unus fuit, quod adulescens in incremento rerum, nondum alteram fortunam expertus, decessit. Vt alios reges claros ducesque omittam, magna 6
exempla casuum humanorum, Cyrum, quem maxime Graeci laudibus celebrant, quid nisi longa vita, sicut Magnum modo Pompeium, vertenti praebuit fortunae? Recenseam 7
duces Romanos, nec omnes omnium aetatium, sed ipsos eos cum quibus consulibus aut dictatoribus Alexandro fuit bellandum, M. Valerium Corvum, C. Marcium Rutilum, C. 8
Sulpicium, T. Manlium Torquatum, Q. Publilium Philonem, L. Papirium Cursorem, Q. Fabium Maximum, duos Decios, L. Volumnium, M'. Curium. Deinceps ingentes 9

his power with no one as the Roman consul did, and he was not obliged soon to relinquish his command, as was the Roman dictator. — **adulescens**: he died at the age of thirty-two, after a reign of twelve years and eight months. — **in incremento rerum**: *in the progress of success.* — **alteram**: *the other; i.e.* unfavorable.

6. **Cyrum**: obj. of *praebuit*, of which *quid* is the subject. Cyrus, founder of the Persian Empire, ruled from 559 to 529. He was defeated and killed in a great battle with one of the tribes east of the Caspian Sea. — **Magnum Pompeium**: interchange of *nomen* and *cognomen* is found occasionally in the republican period, frequently under the empire. After his defeat at Pharsalus in 48, Pompey fled to Egypt, where he was murdered on his arrival. He was then fifty-eight years old.

7. **recenseam**: *I might enumerate;* the subj. of action conceivable; Lane, 1556. — **aetatium**: cf. 26, 9, 13. — **Alexandro fuit bellandum**: *Alexander would have had to fight;* Lane, 2103.

8. **Corvum**: the tribune who in 349 killed a gigantic Gaul in single combat; Livy, 7, 26. He was six times consul and twice dictator. — **Rutilum**: first plebeian dictator, in 356; Livy, 7, 17. He triumphed over the Privernates and the Etruscans. — **Sulpicium**: consul in 314, in which year he won a victory over the Samnites; Livy, 9, 27. — **Torquatum**: dictator in 353 and, later, three times consul; famous for killing a Gaul in single combat in 360; Livy, 7, 10. — **Philonem, Cursorem**: see 9, 7, 15 and note on chapters 10–16. — **Maximum**: consul for the first time in 322; he defeated the Samnites when dictator in 315. — **Decios**: two

secuntur viri, si Punicum Romano praevertisset bellum
10 seniorque in Italiam traiecisset. Horum in quolibet cum indoles eadem [quae in Alexandro erat] animi ingenique, tum disciplina militaris, iam inde ab initiis urbis tradita per manus, in artis perpetuis praeceptis ordinatae modum ve-
11 nerat. Ita reges gesserant bella, ita deinde exactores regum Iunii Valeriique, ita deinceps Fabii, Quinctii, Cornelii, ita Furius Camillus, quem iuvenes ii quibuscum Alexandro

commanders, each named P. Decius Mus, of whom the first sacrificed himself to save the army at the battle of Mt. Vesuvius in 340 (Livy, 8, 9), and the second did the same thing at the battle of Sentinum in 295 (Livy, 10, 28). — **Volumnium**: consul for the first time in 307 and victorious over the Samnites in the Third Samnite War; Livy 10, 18 ff. — **Curium**: called Dentatus, consul first in 290, when he triumphed over the Samnites and Sabines. The two men last mentioned and the younger Decius would have fought against Alexander only if he had lived much longer than he did. Livy's anxiety to display the heroes of early Rome has led him into the absurdity of this assumption.

9. **si . . . traiecisset**: sc. the apodosis, *who would have opposed him*. — **praevertisset**: used as a deponent in the same sense in 2, 24, 5. Justin 21, 6 says the Carthaginians feared an invasion of Alexander, and sent an envoy to discover his plans.

10. **indoles**: see on 1, 3, 1. — **disciplina . . . venerat**: *military training handed down from the very beginning of the city had come into the nature of an art based on permanent principles*. — **iam inde ab initiis**: cf. 1, 2, 3. — **tradita per manus**: see on 1, 3, 9.

11. **ita**: *i.e.* with that general *disciplina* mentioned in the previous section. The introduction of the manipular system, which in the fourth century B.C. replaced the old phalanx, is not regarded as interfering with the military tradition and development. — **exactores**: apparently not used elsewhere in this sense. — **Iunii**: L. Junius Brutus expelled Tarquinius Superbus in 510 and was elected the first consul. — **Valerii**: P. Valerius Publicola aided Brutus in the expulsion of the Tarquins and was ultimately his colleague in the consulship. — **Fabii, Quinctii, Cornelii**: it is doubtful if Livy has particular individuals in mind. Cincinnatus was the great hero of the Quinctian *gens*. — **Furius Camillus**: the conqueror of the

dimicandum erat senem viderant. Militaria opera pug- 12
nando obeunti Alexandro — nam ea quoque haud minus
clarum eum faciunt — cessisset videlicet in acie oblatus
par Manlius Torquatus aut Valerius Corvus, insignes ante
milites quam duces, cessissent Decii, devotis corporibus 13
in hostem ruentes, cessisset Papirius Cursor illo corporis
robore, illo animi! Victus esset consiliis iuvenis unius, ne 14
singulos nominem, senatus ille, quem qui ex regibus con-
stare dixit unus veram speciem Romani senatus cepit! Id 15
vero erat periculum, ne sollertius quam quilibet unus ex iis
quos nominavi castris locum caperet, commeatus expedi-
ret, ab insidiis praecaveret, tempus pugnae deligeret, aciem
instrueret, subsidiis firmaret! Non cum Dareo rem esse 16
dixisset, quem mulierum ac spadonum agmen trahentem,
inter purpuram atque aurum, oneratum fortunae apparati-
bus suae, praedam verius quam hostem, nihil aliud quam
bene ausus vana contemnere, incruentus devicit. Longe 17
alius Italiae quam Indiae, per quam temulento agmine
comisabundus incessit, visus illi habitus esset, saltus Apu-
liae ac montes Lucanos cernenti et vestigia recentia domes-

Gauls; see 5, 46 ff. — **dimicandum erat**: see on § 7 *fuit bellandum*. — **viderant**: true of only the earlier ones of those named in § 8. Camillus died in 365.

12. **videlicet**: attached to an ironical statement, as often. — **par**: *as an opponent*.

13. **devotis**: see on § 8.

14. **quem . . . constare**: the remark of Cineas, minister of Pyrrhus, on his return from an embassy to Rome. — **speciem**: *idea*.

15. **id vero . . .** : still ironical; cf. 9, 18, 6. — **quilibet unus**: see on 3, 45, 4 *quisquam unus*.

16. **nihil . . . contemnere**: *displaying courage only in his scorn of empty show; i.e.* in his appreciation of the real weakness of Darius, which in fact made courage unnecessary; for *nihil aliud quam* see on 2, 29, 4.

17. **agmine**: abl. of accompaniment; see on 3, 50, 3. — **habitus**: *character*. — **Apuliae**: the country he would have seen first on his

ticae cladis, ubi avunculus eius nuper, Epiri rex Alexander, absumptus erat.

1 **18.** Et loquimur de Alexandro nondum merso secundis
2 rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior fuit. Qui si ex habitu novae fortunae novique, ut ita dicam, ingeni, quod sibi
3 victor induerat, spectetur, Dareo magis similis quam Alexandro in Italiam venisset et exercitum Macedoniae oblitum
4 degenerantemque iam in Persarum mores adduxisset. Referre in tanto rege piget superbam mutationem vestis et desideratas humi iacentium adulationes, etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum victoribus, et foeda supplicia et inter vinum et epulas caedes amicorum et vanitatem
5 ementiendae stirpis. Quid, si vini amor in dies fieret acrior? quid, si trux ac praefervida ira? — nec quicquam dubium inter scriptores refero —, nullane haec damna
6 imperatoriis virtutibus ducimus? Id vero periculum erat,

arrival from Greece. — **Alexander**: see on 9, 19, 11.

18. 1. **quarum . . . fuit**: *which no one was less capable of resisting.*

2. **ex habitu**: *according to the nature.* — **quod . . . induerat**: cf. 3, 33, 7. — **spectetur**: it should be noted that this is not the protasis of *venisset*; it is necessary to supply a protasis for *venisset* and an apodosis for *spectetur*; *i.e.* the sentence might be completed thus, *si spectetur, adpareat eum, si venisset, venturum fuisse* etc.

4. **in**: *in the case of*; cf. 5, 36, 9. — **desideratas . . . adulationes**: *the flattery demanded of people prostrate on the ground.* Curt. 8, 5, 6 *iussitque more Persarum Macedonas venerabundos ipsum salutare prosternentes humi corpora.* — **etiam victis**: *even if they had been conquered*; cf. 9, 19, 9 *victus*; 21, 43, 5 *victoribus.* — **nedum**: found first in Livy with no preceding negative expressed or implied. — **supplicia**: especially the torture of Philotas, accused of conspiring against Alexander. — **caedes amicorum**: at a banquet, Alexander killed his intimate friend Clitus, because the latter declared that the deeds of Philip were greater than those of his son. — **vanitatem . . . stirpis**: Curt. 8, 5, 5 *Iovis filium non dici tantum se, sed etiam credi volebat.*

5. **ira**: sc. *fieret acrior.*

6. **id . . . erat**: cf. 9, 17, 15.

quod levissimi ex Graecis, qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriae favent, dictitare solent, ne maiestatem nominis Alexandri, quem ne fama quidem illis notum arbitror fuisse, sustinere non potuerit populus Romanus, et adversus quem Athenis, in civitate fracta Macedonum armis, cernentes tum maxime prope fumantes Thebarum ruinas contionari libere ausi sint homines, id quod ex monumentis orationum patet, adversus eum nemo ex tot proceribus Romanis vocem liberam missurus fuerit! 7

Quantalibet magnitudo hominis concipiatur animo, unius tamen ea magnitudo hominis erit, conlecta paulo plus decem annorum felicitate; quam qui eo extollunt, quod populus Romanus, etsi nullo bello, multis tamen proeliis victus sit, Alexandro nullius pugnae non secunda fortuna fuerit, non intellegunt se hominis res gestas, et eius iuvenis, cum populi iam octingentesimum bellantis annum rebus conferre. Miremur, si, cum ex hac parte saecula plura numerentur quam ex illa anni, plus in tam longo spatio quam in aetate tredecim annorum fortuna variaverit? Quin tu 8 9 10 11

— **levissimi**: for Livy's general estimate of the Greeks, cf. 8, 22, 8 *a Graecis, gente lingua magis strenua quam factis*. — **illis**: the Romans. The truth of this statement is very doubtful. — **potuerit**: representing *potuit*, the apodosis of a non-occurrent past condition (Lane, 2103), the subj. being due to the fact that the clause depends upon *periculum erat*.

7. **prope**: best taken locally; *close by*. — **Thebarum ruinas**: the city was destroyed by Alexander in 335. — **homines**: Demosthenes, Lycurgus, etc. — **monumentis**: *surviving copies*. — **missurus fuerit**: like *potuerit* in § 6; see on 9, 17, 2 *futurus fuerit*.

8. **quantalibet . . . felicitate**: *whatever idea of the man's greatness we may form, it still will prove to be the greatness of one man, based upon the success of a little more than ten years*.

9. **octingentesimum**: *i.e.* now in its eighth century of warfare; cf. *Praef.* 4.

10. **saecula**: *generations*, of thirty-three years. — **tredecim annorum**: from his accession to the throne in 336 to his death in 323.

hominis cum homine et ducis cum duce fortunam confers?
12 Quot Romanos duces nominem, quibus numquam adversa fortuna pugnae fuit! Paginas in annalibus magistratuumque fastis percurrere licet consulum dictatorumque, quorum nec virtutis nec fortunae ullo die populum Romanum
13 paenituit. Et, quo sint mirabiliores quam Alexander aut quisquam rex, denos vicenosque dies quidam dictaturam,
14 nemo plus quam annum consulatum gessit; ab tribunis plebis dilectus inpediti sunt; post tempus ad bella ierunt, ante tempus comitiorum causa revocati sunt; in ipso co-
15 natu rerum circumegit se annus; collegae nunc temeritas nunc pravitas inpedimento aut damno fuit; male gestis rebus alterius successum est; tironem aut mala disciplina
16 institutum exercitum acceperunt. At hercule reges non

11. **quin tu . . . confers**: *why don't you compare the fortune of one man with that of another, of one commander with that of another?* For *homine* and *duce* see on 9, 10, 3 *eum*. Questions introduced by *quin* are almost equivalent to commands, and the imperative effect is here emphasized by *tu*; cf. 9, 10, 7.

12. **paginas**: as applied to ancient book-making, *pagina* means the single sheet, several of which pasted together side by side formed the roll. — **annalibus**: the *annales maximi* or *pontificum*, published annually by the *pontifices*, containing a brief statement of the principal events of the year. — **fastis**: lists of years giving the names of the consuls (*fasti consulares*). There were also *fasti triumphales* and *fasti sacerdotales*. See *Introd.* § 2. — **consulum dictatorumque**: dependent on *paginas*.

13. **quo sint**: see on 1, 28, 5 *teneat*. — **quisquam**: for this adj. use cf. 27, 50, 4. — **vicenosque**: see on 9, 6, 2 *necatique*, and cf. § 19 *morereturque*.

14. **post tempus**: *after the right time, too late*. — **ante tempus**: *too early*; cf. with these two expressions *in tempore*. — **comitiorum**: only a consul could preside at a meeting of the *comitia centuriata* for the election of consuls, censors, and praetors. — **in ipso conatu**: cf. 24, 8, 8 *nobis autem in apparatu ipso ac tantum incohantibus res annus circumagitur*.

15. **male . . . successum est**: they took the command after some one else had failed; under these

liberi solum inpedimentis omnibus sed domini rerum temporumque trahunt consiliis cuncta, non secuntur. Invictus ergo Alexander cum invictis ducibus bella gessisset et eadem fortunae pignora in discrimen detulisset; immo etiam eo plus periculi subisset, quod Macedones unum Alexandrum habuissent, multis casibus non solum obnoxium sed etiam offerentem se, Romani multi fuissent Alexandro vel gloria vel rerum magnitudine pares, quorum suo quisque fato sine publico discrimine viveret morereturque.

19. Restat ut copiae copiis conparentur vel numero vel militum genere vel multitudine auxiliorum. Censebantur eius aetatis lustris ducena quinquagena milia capitum.

circumstances they might find their own army weak and discouraged, the enemy confident.

16. **domini**: Demos. *Olynth.* 1 4 says of Alexander, *τὸ γὰρ εἶναι πάντων ἐκεῖνον ἕνα ὄντα κύριον καὶ ῥητῶν κἀποῤῥήτων καὶ ἅμα στρατηγὸν καὶ δεσπότην καὶ ταμίαν.* — **trahunt**: *control*; cf. 1, 7, 1. — **consiliis**: sc. *suis*. — **secuntur**: sc. *aliorum consilia*.

17. **invictus ergo . . .**: to be referred to the whole of the argument, not to the part of it immediately preceding; otherwise, *ergo* would appear somewhat illogical. At the best, the sentence is abrupt. For *invictus* = *invincible* see on 24, 34, 9 *intacti*. — **eadem . . . detulisset**: *would have pledged the same stakes on the result*.

19. **vel . . . magnitudine**: the two things are not mutually exclusive, as they would have been if *aut* had been used. The use of *vel* indicates that the reader may choose his point of comparison. — **rerum**: sc. *gestarum*. — **suo fato**: *suo* is emphatic; *i.e.* a fate that was distinctly his own, one which would have no permanent influence on the destiny of the state. — **morereturque**: see on 9, 6, 2 *necatique* and cf. § 13 *vicenosque*; the meaning is, *One might live or die*.

19. 1. **eius aetatis**: the period of Alexander's activity. In view of the plural *lustris* and the number of citizens, which is evidently an indefinite one, it is apparent that Livy is not referring to a particular census, but to the whole period of Alexander's campaigns. — **lustris**: the purificatory sacrifice, which regularly, though not always, followed the taking of the census, — an institution of Servius Tullius; 1, 44, 2 *ibi instructum exercitum omnem suovetaurilibus lustravit; idque conditum lustrum*

2 Itaque in omni defectione sociorum Latini nominis urbano
3 prope dilectu decem scribebantur legiones; quaterni quinique exercitus saepe per eos annos in Etruria, in Vmbria Gallis hostibus adiunctis, in Samnio, in Lucanis gerebant
4 bellum. Latium deinde omne cum Sabinis et Volscis et Aequis et omni Campania et parte Vmbriae Etruriaeque et Picentibus et Marsis Paelignisque ac Vestinis atque Apulis, adiuncta omni ora Graecorum inferi maris a Thuriis Neapolim et Cumas et inde Antio atque Ostiis

appellatum, quia is censendo finis factus est. Milia octoginta eo lustro civium censa dicuntur; adicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor, eorum qui arma ferre possent eum numerum fuisse. The census was taken every five years; after the beginning of the republic, by the consuls, until the office of censor was established in 443. Though the results of the census (*tabulae censoriae*) were preserved and were accessible to Livy, he does not give them systematically; the last one mentioned was that of 459, when the citizens numbered 117,319. Plut. *de Fort. Rom.* 13 says there were in Alexander's time 130,000 men capable of bearing arms.

2. **in omni defectione**: as a matter of fact there was no Latin revolt of any consequence after 338. — **sociorum Latini nominis**: citizens of Latin towns and of towns in other parts of Italy to which the same privileges were granted. Latin towns had after 493 the *ius commercii* and probably the *ius connubii*, but after the Latin War (340–338) Rome was able to make various arrangements with individual towns. The phrases *ius Latinum* and *Latini nominis* indicate a position midway between that of citizens and that of foreigners. Granrud, pp. 94, 97. — **decem . . . legiones**: cf. 7, 25, 8 *decem legiones scriptae dicuntur quaternum milium et ducenorum peditum equitumque trecenorum.*

3. **quaterni . . exercitus**: the consular army consisted regularly of two legions. The distributive numerals mean that four or five armies were operating together at various times in one or another of the places mentioned, — not in all at the same time. For *quinique* see on 9, 6, 2 *necatique*.

4. **deinde**: after the campaigns mentioned in the previous section. — **Graecorum**: poss. gen.; the coast was occupied by Greek colonies. — **Thuriis**: Thurii was near the Gulf of Tarentum, many miles from the coast of the *mare inferum*, and, if the reading of the Mss. is

tenus, aut socios validos Romanis aut fractos bello invenisset hostes. Ipse traiecisset mare cum veteranis Macedonibus, non plus triginta milibus hominum et quattuor milibus equitum, maxime Thessalorum; hoc enim roboris erat. Persas, Indos aliasque si adiunxisset gentes, impedimentum maius quam auxilium traheret. Adde quod Romanis ad manum domi supplementum esset, Alexandro, quod postea Hannibali accidit, alieno in agro bellanti exercitus consenuisset. Arma clupei sarisaeque illis [id est hastae]; Romano scutum, maius corpori tegumentum, et pilum, haud

correct, Livy must have committed here one of his many geographical blunders; see on 22, 3, 6. — **Ostiis**: usually a fem. sing. noun; here a neut. plur.; the same form is found in 22, 37, 1 and 27, 23, 3. — **fractos bello**: and therefore of no assistance to him.

5. **hominum** = *peditum*; cf. 21, 27, 1 *equites virique*. — **hoc . . . erat**: *for this was his whole strength*; the gen. is possessive. — **traheret**: used in the same sense in 9, 17, 16. For examples of the imperf. subj. in the apodosis, referring to past time, after a protasis in the plup. subj., see Lane, 2097 *b*.

6. **adde quod**: a poetical use, not found in prose before Livy. — **esset, consenuisset**: a condition is implied for each verb; hence the subj.; for the tense of *esset* cf. *traheret* in the previous section.

7. **clupei**: a small round shield of bronze; cf. 8, 8, 3 *clupeis antea* (340 B.C.) *Romani usi sunt; dein postquam stipendiarii facti sunt, scuta pro clupeis fecere*. The neuter (*clupeum*) is more common than the masc. in Livy. — **sarisae**: cf. 37, 42, 4 *praelongarum hastarum — sarisas Macedones vocant*; Polyb. 18, 12 says they were 14 cubits (about 20 feet) long and projected 10 cubits before the line. — **Romano**: for the collective use cf. 1, 25, 12. — **scutum**: an oblong shield about 4 feet long by 2½ feet wide. It was made of wood, with a metal rim, and covered with hide. — **pilum**: consisting of a wooden handle about 4½ feet long and an iron shaft of the same length sunk in the handle so that the total length was only about 6 feet 9 inches. While the *hasta*, which was the chief weapon of the Romans down to 390 B.C., was usually retained in the hand, the *pilum* was thrown. Hence, *ictu missuque* must be explained as hendiadys, the blow being the effect of the cast. *ictu* cannot be explained as

8 paulo quam hasta vehementius ictu missuque telum. Statarius uterque miles, ordines servans; sed illa phalanx inmobilis et unius generis, Romana acies distinctior, ex pluribus partibus constans, facilis partienti, quacumque
9 opus esset, facilis iungenti. Iam in opere quis par Romano miles, quis ad tolerandum laborem melior? Vno proelio victus Alexander bello victus esset; Romanum, quem Caudium, quem Cannae non fregerunt, quae fregisset acies?

10 Ne ille saepe, etiam si prima prospere evenissent, Persas et Indos et inbellem Asiam quaesisset et cum feminis sibi
11 bellum fuisse dixisset, quod Epiri regem Alexandrum, mortifero vulnere ictum, dixisse ferunt, sortem bellorum

a *thrust*, as opposed to a *cast* (*missu*), on the assumption that the *pilum* was sometimes used for that purpose, for it would not be, when used in that way, a more effective weapon than the *hasta*.

8. **statarius**: as opposed to light-armed troops with the tactics of skirmishers; in 22, 18, 3 Livy speaks of the Roman army as *campestrem hostem, gravem armis statariumque*. — **unius generis**: *i.e.* without distinction of service or arms, whereas in the Roman legion there was a systematic arrangement based on length of service, and the men were variously armed. — **partienti**: see on 9, 17, 4 *intuenti*. — **esset**: see on 3, 36, 8. The advantage of the Roman manipular organization, which was introduced about 390 B.C., is well illustrated in 44, 41, 6 ff. *disiecerunt phalangem, cuius confertae et intentis horrentis hastis intolerabiles vires sunt; si carptim adgrediendo circumagere inmobilem longitudine et gravitate hastam cogas, confusa strue inplicantur; si vero aut ab latere aut ab tergo aliquid tumultus increpuit, ruinae modo turbantur, sicut tum adversus catervatim incurrentes Romanos et interrupta multifariam acie obviam ire cogebantur; et Romani, quacumque data intervalla essent, insinuabant ordines suos.*

9. **iam**: *moreover*. — **victus**: see on 9, 18, 4.

10. **quaesisset**: *would have missed*.

11. **Alexandrum**: surnamed Molossus, uncle of Alexander the Great; he came into Italy in 341 to help the Tarentines against the

in Asia gestorum ab hoc ipso iuvene cum sua conferentem. Equidem cum per annos quattuor et viginti primo Punico 12
bello classibus certatum cum Poenis recordor, vix aetatem Alexandri suffecturam fuisse reor ad unum bellum; et 13
forsitan, cum et foederibus vetustis iuncta res Punica Romanae esset et timor par adversus communem hostem duas potentissimas armis virisque urbis armaret, simul Punico Romanoque obrutus bello esset. Non quidem Alexandro 14
duce nec integris Macedonum rebus, sed experti tamen sunt Romani Macedonem hostem adversus Antiochum, Philippum, Persen non modo cum clade ulla, sed ne cum periculo quidem suo. Absit invidia verbo et civilia bella 15
sileant: [numquam ab equite hoste] numquam a pedite, numquam aperta acie, numquam aequis, utique numquam nostris locis laboravimus; equitem, sagittas, saltus inpedi- 16

Romans, and died there in 327. Gell. 17, 21, 33 *eum Molossum, cum in Italiam transiret, dixisse accepimus se quidem ad Romanos ire quasi in andronitin, Macedonem ad Persas quasi in gynaeconitin.* — **sua**: sc. *sorte*; *i.e. cum sorte suorum bellorum.*

13. **foederibus**: the first treaty with the Carthaginians mentioned by Livy was made in 349. Polyb. 3, 22 gives one of the year 509, but his statement is doubted. — **res Punica**: cf. 1, 3, 1 *res Latina.*

14. **Antiochum**: in the war against Antiochus, king of Syria (192–189), the Macedonians themselves fought on the Roman side, but Antiochus used Macedonian tactics, especially at the battle of Magnesia. — **Philippum**: Philip V, against whom the Romans fought in the First and Second Macedonian Wars (214–205; 200–196). — **Persen**: son of Philip, defeated at the battle of Pydna in 168. — **non modo**: see on 2, 23, 14.

15. **absit . . . verbo**: *may my words excite no envy, i.e.* in the minds of the gods; cf. 5, 21, 14 f. *dicitur manus ad caelum tollens precatus esse, ut, si cui deorum hominumque nimia sua fortuna populique Romani videretur, ut eam invidiam lenire quam minimo suo privato incommodo publicoque populi Romani liceret.* — **sileant**: *i.e.* let them say nothing to controvert my statement; let them not be taken into account. — **numquam . . . laboravimus**: even if *numquam . . . hoste* is bracketed

tos, avia commeatibus loca gravis armis miles timere
17 potest; mille acies graviores quam Macedonum atque Alexandri avertit avertetque, modo sit perpetuus huius, qua vivimus, pacis amor et civilis cura concordiae.

Book XXI

Beginning of the Second Punic War. Hannibal.

1 1. In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari quod in principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores,

as an interpolation, the statement is still an absurd exaggeration, as the Roman defeat at Cannae, for example, was due in large part to the enemy's infantry, and the battle was fought on a field which offered equal advantages. It is difficult to say whether *numquam aperta . . . locis* should be regarded as a restriction of *numquam a pedite . . . laboravimus*, or is to be applied to cavalry as well as infantry. Finally, *utique . . . locis* constitutes an almost ridiculous anticlimax. The sentence is extremely puzzling and unsatisfactory. — **a pedite**: used as if *victi sumus* were to follow. — **nostris**: *favorable.*

16. **equitem . . . potest**: balancing the previous sentence, — *equitem, sagittas* being contrasted with *a pedite, saltus . . . loca* with *aperta . . . locis*. Livy probably had in mind the comparatively recent victory of the Parthians at Carrhae; Hor. *Od.* 2, 13, 17 *miles sagittas et celerem fugam Parthi* (*perhorrescit*).

Book XXI. **1–46**. References (for the period ending with the battle of the Ticinus River): Polyb. 2, 1; 3, 6–65; 9, 22–26. Nepos, *Hamil.* 2–4; *Hann.* 1–3. Appian, *Spain*, 6–13; *Hann.* 2–5. Ihne, 2, 143–181. Mommsen, 2, 238–269. Arnold, *Second Punic War*, 1–29. T. A. Dodge, *Hannibal*, 143–253.

1. 1. parte: Bks. XXI–XXX. — **totius**: qualifying *summae* pleonastically and serving simply to emphasize the fact that some other writers had treated short periods, while Livy was writing a complete history of Rome. — **rerum**: sc. *gestarum; history.* — **scriptores**: those who had confined themselves to the history of a single period, as that of the Second Punic War; *e.g.* L. Coelius Antipater (see *Introd.* § 4). Cf. the statement of Thuc. 1, 1 regarding the im-

bellum maxime omnium memorabile quae umquam gesta sint me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus 2
ullae inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma neque his ipsis tantum umquam virium aut roboris fuit, et haud ignotas belli artes inter sese sed expertas primo Punico conferebant bello, et adeo varia fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculum fuerint qui vicerunt. Odiis etiam 3
prope maioribus certarunt quam viribus, Romanis indignantibus quod victoribus victi ultro inferrent arma, Poenis quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse.

portance of the Peloponnesian War. — **umquam**: rarely used in affirmative clauses, but the thought is, *never was a more memorable war;* cf. 5, 42, 5. — **duce**: Hannibal was not only the general but the instigator of the war, though his acts were approved by the Carthaginian senate; after their final defeat, however, the Carthaginians held him alone responsible. See 30, 22, 2 *eum iniussu senatus non Alpis modo sed Hiberum quoque transgressum, nec Romanis solum sed ante etiam Saguntinis privato consilio bellum intulisse;* 39, 51, 2.

2. **nam . . . vicerunt**: four reasons are given for the statement *bellum . . . memorabile;* these are grouped in two pairs, the members of the first being connected by *neque . . . neque*, those of the second by *et . . . et*. — **inter se**: connect with *contulerunt*. — **civitates gentesque**: *civitas* is the body politic; *gens*, the nation without reference to political condition. — **virium aut roboris**: cf. 21, 40, 8; the only distinction between the two words is that the former is the more concrete; *resources or strength*. — **inter sese**: connect with *ignotas*. — **sese sed**: see on 5, 46, 3 *neglegens gens*. — **expertas**: passive, as in 2, 29, 1. — **propius . . . vicerunt**: cf. 25, 11, 11 *propiusque inopiam erant obsidentes quam obsessi*. All degrees of the adv. *prope* are used by Livy with the acc.; see on 22, 45, 6. — **fuerint**: see on 1, 3, 4 *ausi sint*.

3. **etiam**: introducing still another reason for the statement in § 1 *bellum . . . memorabile*. — **Romanis . . . Poenis**: nominatives in app. with the subject of *certarunt* would have been more regular; but see Lane, 1369. — **ultro**: see on 1, 5, 3. — **inferrent, crederent**: the reasons of the Romans and the Carthaginians respectively, as the

4 Fama est etiam, Hannibalem annorum ferme novem pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcari ut duceretur in Hispaniam, cum perfecto Africo bello exercitum eo traiecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admotum tactis sacris iure iurando adactum se, cum primum posset, hostem fore populo Romano.
5 Angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae: nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam et Sardiniam inter motum Africae fraude Romanorum stipendio etiam insuper inposito interceptam.

mood indicates. — **superbe avareque**: cf. 21, 44, 5. After the end of the first war with Rome Carthage was occupied for five years (see on 21, 2, 1) with a revolt of the mercenary troops employed in that war. Rome, taking advantage of this opportunity, seized Sardinia and forced Carthage to pay an indemnity of 1200 talents in addition to the 3200 ($3,840,000) required at the close of the war.

4. **fama**: used both of oral tradition and of the written statements of historians. Hannibal himself tells this story in 35, 19, 3; cf. Nepos, *Hann.* 2, 3 ff. — **annorum**: gen. of quality. — **blandientem**: *coaxing;* apparently not used elsewhere with a substantive clause. — **Africo bello**: the war with the mercenaries; see on § 3. — **altaribus**: the plural, as elsewhere, of a single altar; the sing. is not found in classical Latin. — **iure iurando adactum**: the regular formula; cf. 2, 1, 9. — **hostem**: so App. *Spain,* 9 and Val. Max. 9, 3, ext. 3; the oath as given by Polyb. 3, 11, 7 is somewhat different, — μηδέποτε Ῥωμαίοις εὐνοήσειν, — and so Nepos, *Hann.* 2, 4, and Livy himself in 35, 19, 3 *numquam amicum fore populi Romani.*

5. **angebant**: the subject is *Sicilia . . . amissae, the loss of Sicily and Sardinia;* see on 1, 3, 4 *coloniam deductam.* The Carthaginians had held and at the end of the war had surrendered only the western part of Sicily; the eastern part was the kingdom of Hiero, an ally of Rome. — **nimis . . . desperatione**: Hamilcar was still on Mt. Eryx unconquered, when, after the battle of the Aegatian Islands, the war was ended by a treaty. — **fraude**: cf. Scipio's opinion of the same thing in 21, 40, 5. — **stipendio**: see on § 3. — **inposito**: not of past time with reference to *interceptam,* but with reference to the time of the writer; the act was really later than that indicated by *interceptam;* cf. 21, 4, 10 *praetermissa;* 22, 47, 2 *relicto;* 42, 15, 10 *congestis.*

2. His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recen- 1
tem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos, ita deinde novem
annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit, ut adpa- 2
reret maius eum quam quod gereret agitare in animo bel-
lum et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce Poenos arma
Italiae inlaturos fuisse, quae Hannibalis ductu intulerunt.

* * * * * * * 9

4. Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu 1
omnem exercitum in se convertit; Hamilcarem iuvenem 2
redditum sibi veteres milites credere, eundem vigorem in
vultu vimque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri.

2. 1. sub: *immediately after*. — **quinque**: Diod. 25, 6 says that the war lasted four years and four months; Polyb. 1, 88, 7, three years and four months. Livy evidently includes the time up to Hamilcar's departure for Spain in 237 or 236. — **novem**: until 228, if Polyb. 3, 10, 7 is correct in his statement that Hamilcar died ten years before the beginning of the Second Punic War. He secured for Carthage the south coast and part of the east coast of Spain. — **annis**: for the case see on 1, 29, 6.

In the remainder of chap. 2 and in chap. 3 Livy describes the successful operations of Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, in Spain. At his request, Hannibal, while still a boy, was sent there to gain a knowledge of military service.

4. 1. primo . . . adventu: it is evident from this and from *Hamilcarem . . . redditum* that Livy is following here an authority who held that the request of Hannibal (21, 1, 4) was not granted. Polybius and others, on the other hand, state that he went to Spain as a young boy with his father, and Livy in the following narrative inconsistently follows that version of the story; see 21, 43, 15 and 30, 37, 9 *novem . . . annorum a vobis profectus*.

2. iuvenem: Nepos, *Hamil.* 1 *Hamilcar . . . admodum adulescentulus in Sicilia praeesse coepit exercitui.* Hamilcar took command of the Carthaginian fleet in 247, and many of the veterans now in Spain would have remembered his appearance at that time. — **vigorem . . . vimque**: see on *Praef.* 12. — **oris**: to be taken with both *habitum* and *lineamenta*, the former indicating the general expression, the latter the individual features. Four elements are here arranged in pairs, the former sug-

Dein brevi effecit ut pater in se minimum momentum ad
3 favorem conciliandum esset. Numquam ingenium idem
ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilius
fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres, utrum imperatori an
4 exercitui carior esset; neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam
praeficere malle, ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset,
5 neque milites alio duce plus confidere aut audere. Plurimum audaciae ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consili
inter ipsa pericula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari
6 aut animus vinci poterat. Caloris ac frigoris patientia
par; cibi potionisque desiderio naturali, non voluptate
modus finitus; vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte
7 discriminata tempora; id quod gerendis rebus superesset
quieti datum; ea neque molli strato neque silentio accersita; multi saepe militari sagulo opertum humi iacentem
8 inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt. Vesti-

gesting the personality of the man, the latter his appearance. — **pater in se**: *i.e.* resemblance to his father. — **momentum ad**: cf. 29, 12, 2 *momentum ad opem ferendam*.

3. **numquam ingenium** etc.: the short sentences and many antitheses render the description clear and forceful. From a literary point of view, however, something might have been gained by greater variety. Though the long succession of short and carefully balanced sentences gives a very definite idea of Hannibal's character, it becomes a little monotonous. — **haud . . . discerneres**: *you would not easily have discovered;* the subj. of action conceivable in past time; see on 2, 27, 6.

4. **praeficere**: rarely used without a dependent dative. — **agendum esset**: see on 3, 36, 8 *appellasset*. — **audere**: used absolutely, as in 21, 40, 6.

6. **desiderio naturali**: cf. 27, 45, 11. — **discriminata**: a very rare word, found only here in Livy.

7. **id . . . superesset**: *only that time which remained after necessary things were done. superesset* means literally *survived;* for the dat. cf. 5, 40, 2. — **multi saepe**: see on 26, 14, 2. — **custodias stationesque**: the former were small outposts at some distance from the camp; the latter, larger detachments near the camp, from which the *custodiae* were at regular intervals relieved.

tus nihil inter aequales excellens; arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat; princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus conserto proelio excedebat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequabant: inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque

8. **inter aequales**: brachylogy for *inter aequalium vestitum*; see on 9, 10, 3 *eum* and cf. 21, 45, 6 *secum*. — **arma . . . conspiciebantur**: *but his arms were conspicuous*; adversative asyndeton. The omission of connectives and introductory words (*e.g.* § 4 *neque* for *neque enim*; § 7 *id* for *id tantum*) makes the passage exceedingly abrupt. For *conspiciebantur* see on 3, 50, 3. — **primus**: cf. 9, 1, 2; *princeps* here and *primus* in the next clause would have been more natural. *princeps* gives, however, a local idea which *primus* would not have given. Nepos, *Hann.* 3, 1 says that Hannibal commanded all the cavalry.

9. **viri virtutes . . . vitia**: a notable instance of alliteration; the use of *viri* is due partly to Livy's fondness for alliteration, but it emphasizes at the same time the contrast between the virtues which were and the vices which were not worthy of a great man; cf. 9, 8, 11. — **crudelitas**: Polyb. 9, 22, 7 and 9, 26, 11 states that Hannibal was charged by the Romans with cruelty, by the Carthaginians with avarice. It is remarkable that in this careful characterization Livy does not mention avarice, a fault which he, too, elsewhere ascribes to Hannibal. In contrast with the unqualified assertion of *inhumana crudelitas* are several passages (*e.g.* 22, 7, 5) in which Hannibal's clemency is illustrated. Mommsen says, "Nothing occurs in the accounts regarding him which may not be justified in the circumstances and according to the international law of the times." — **perfidia**: the perfidy of the Carthaginians was proverbial among the Romans. — **nihil veri**: for lack of words indicating the absence of a quality, *e.g.* untruthfulness, Livy is compelled to use substantives of positive meaning with *nihil* or *nullus*. — **sancti**: *piety*; see 26, 11, 9; but cf. 21, 45, 8. — **nullus deum metus**: cf. 26, 11, 9; 30, 20, 6. — **religio**: *conscience*; cf. 22, 6, 12; the exact meaning is, *scrupulousness in the performance of duty*.

10. **indole**: *equipment*; cf. 9, 17, 10 and see on 1, 3, 1. — **triennio**: abl. of duration of time; cf. 1, 29, 6. According to Livy, Han-

vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit, nulla re quae agenda videndaque magno futuro duci esset praetermissa.

Crossing of the River Rhone

1 27. Iamque omnibus satis conparatis ad traiciendum
218 B.C. terrebant ex adverso hostes omnem ripam equites virique
2 obtinentes. Quos ut averteret, Hannonem, Bomilcaris filium, vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime
3 Hispanis, adverso flumine ire iter unius diei iubet et, ubi primum possit, quam occultissime traiecto amni circumducere agmen, ut, cum opus facto sit, adoriatur ab tergo
4 hostes. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent inde milia quinque

nibal was eighteen years old at the time of his father's death and Hasdrubal was in command for eight years; therefore Hannibal, when he took command, was twenty-six years old. — **magno**: pred. adjective. — **praetermissa**: see on 21, 1, 5 *inposito*.

Chaps. 5–26. Hannibal attacked the neutral town of Saguntum, and, in spite of the protest of the Romans, continued the siege until the town was taken. Rome declared war and Hannibal decided to lead his army through Gaul into Italy. He crossed the Pyrenees in the spring of 218 and reached the river Rhone.

27. 1. **ex adverso**: see on 1, 25, 9 and cf. 22, 4, 4. — **hostes**: the Volcae, a Gallic tribe living near the mouth of the Rhone, which had gathered on the east bank to resist the invasion of its territory. — **equites virique**: *horse and foot*; cf. 9, 19, 5. For the usual phrase see 5, 37, 5 *equis virisque*.

2. **averteret**: sc. *Hannibal*. — **noctis**: unnecessary, as only the night was divided into watches. Polybius says it was the third night after Hannibal's arrival at the river. — **Hispanis**: selected because they were good swimmers. — **iter**: such an acc. of kindred derivation is commonly qualified by an adj., here represented by *unius diei*.

3. **ubi primum possit**: for the meaning cf. 27, 47, 10 *ubi prima lux . . . ostendisset*.

4. **ad id**: *for this purpose*. — **Galli**: those of the Volcae who had remained in their homes on the west bank and the other tribes

et viginti ferme supra parvae insulae circumfusum amnem latiore, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto alveo transitum ostendere. Ibi raptim caesa materia ratesque fabricatae, 5
in quibus equi virique et alia onera traicerentur. Hispani sine ulla mole in utres vestimentis coniectis ipsi caetris superpositis incubantes flumen tranavere. Et alius exerci- 6
tus ratibus iunctis traiectus, castris prope flumen positis, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus quiete unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune exsequendum. Postero die profecti ex conposito fumo sig- 7
nificant transisse et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi accepit

of the neighborhood, who were doing all that they could to hasten Hannibal's departure from their territory. — **inde**: from the place where Hannibal was. — **milia quinque et viginti**: about twenty-three English miles. — **insulae**: probably the island just above the mouth of the Ardèche. — **latiore . . . alveo**: ablative absolute. — **dividebatur**: the indic. shows that this is Livy's explanation, not that of the guides.

5. **ibi**: at the crossing just mentioned; the march is not described. — **materia**: *timber*. — **equi virique**: here not in the usual sense (see on § 1), but to be translated literally, *horses and men*. — **alia onera**: *i.e.* other things, namely supplies etc. The Latin sometimes uses *alius* with a noun indicating a thing of entirely different nature from that indicated by the preceding noun, if existing conditions have put the two things into the same class. Here horses, men, and supplies were all burdens to be transported. Cf. 21, 2, 4 *flore aetatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde ob aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus*; cf. also 21, 46, 9; 27, 43, 10; 27, 49, 6. — **mole**: *difficulty*. — **in utres . . . tranavere**: *i.e.* they put their clothing into skins, which they then inflated; upon these they placed their shields and, thus supported, swam across the river. This method of crossing a river is mentioned again in 21, 47, 5. — **caetris**: dat. with *incubantes*. The *caetra* was a small wicker shield covered with leather.

6. **alius** = *reliquus*; cf. 21, 46, 9. — **iunctis**: *constructed*; so *pontem iungere* means to construct a bridge by putting the timbers together. — **operis labore**: cf. 5, 2, 7 *opere et labore*.

7. **ex conposito**: connect with *significant*. — **transisse**: for the

Hannibal, ne tempori deesset, dat signum ad traiciendum.
8 Iam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes lintres, eques fere propter equos naves. Navium agmen ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte superiore transmittens tran-
9 quillitatem infra traicientibus lintribus praebebat. Equorum pars magna nantes loris a puppibus trahebantur praeter eos quos instratos frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent, inposuerant in naves.

1 **28.** Galli occursant in ripa cum variis ululatibus cantuque moris sui quatientes scuta super capita vibrantesque dextris
2 tela, quamquam et ex adverso terrebat tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario nautarum, militum, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis et qui
3 ex altera ripa traicientes suos hortabantur. Iam satis paventes adverso tumultu terribilior ab tergo adortus clamor

omission of the subject cf. 9, 1, 11. — **ne . . . deesset**: cf. 22, 39, 21 *neque occasioni tuae desis.* — **signum ad traiciendum**: see on 22, 4, 5.

8. **paratas aptatasque**: *ready and equipped, i.e.* with oars etc. — **fere**: inconsistent with *pars magna* in § 9. — **ad . . . fluminis**: *to break the force of the current.* — **parte superiore**: *above;* locative ablative.

9. **pars magna . . . praeter eos**: a large part, *all* except those etc. — **nantes**: with collective nouns Livy often uses plural adjectives and verbs; see on 2, 28, 9 and cf. 21, 46, 4 *expediebant.* — **instratos frenatosque**: *saddled and bridled;* the saddle was only a cloth, with or without a pad; the bridle, including the bit, was similar to that now in use, except that the bit was ordinarily flexible.

28. 1. **occursant**: frequentative, *ran back and forth.* — **ululatibus cantuque**: cf. 5, 39, 5. — **moris**: possessive genitive.

2. **et**: used in anticipation of a correlative before *ab tergo* in the next sentence; this is forgotten in the length of the first sentence. — **nautarum, militum**: for the asyndeton see on 5, 48, 6; *nautarum* refers to the Gauls who were aiding Hannibal (see on 21, 27, 4), to whom, living near the mouth of the river, the term might be properly applied. — **perrumpere impetum**: see on § 5 *impetu . . . rapiente.*

3. **adortus clamor . . . terror**

castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse aderat ancepsque terror circumstabat, et e navibus tanta vi armatorum in terram evadente et ab tergo inprovisa premente acie, Galli postquam utroque vim facere conati pellebantur, qua 4 patere visum maxime iter, perrumpunt trepidique in vicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal, ceteris copiis per otium traiectis, spernens iam Gallicos tumultus, castra locat.

Elephantorum traiciendorum varia consilia fuisse credo, 5 certe variat memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis ad ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis inritatum ab rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam sequeretur, nantem traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem destitueret vadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam rapiente. Ceterum magis constat ratibus traiectos; id ut tutius con- 6 silium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem pronius est. Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta latam, 7 a terra in amnem porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripae

circumstabat: the personification makes the scene more vivid.

4. **vim facere**: *to make a stand.* — **pellebantur**: for the imperf. with *postquam* denoting the continuance or repetition of an action, cf. 5, 39, 2.

5. **variat**: for this rare intrans. use cf. 3, 45, 2. — **inritatum**: Frontin. *Strat.* 1, 7, 2 *iussit ferocissimum elephantum sub aure vulnerari.* — **nantem**: qualifying *elephantum*, to be supplied as the subject of *traxisse*. — **ut . . . vadum**: *i.e.* as, one after another, they lost their footing; the subj. is iterative; cf. 21, 35, 2. — **impetu . . . rapiente**: this would imply that there was a bend in the river which threw the current against the eastern bank; so, in Rome, the curve of the Tiber threw the water, in time of flood, into the Velabrum. The statement is inconsistent with § 2 *perrumpere impetum fluminis.*

6. **ratibus traiectos**: this is the only story given by Polybius. — **foret**: imperf. subj. of action conceivable in past time; cf. 21, 4, 3 *discerneres.* — **ad fidem pronius**: *easier to believe.*

7. **secunda aqua**: *down stream.* — **pontis in modum**: cf. 21, 41, 4;

religatam pontis in modum humo iniecta constraverunt, ut
8 beluae audacter velut per solum ingrederentur; altera ratis aeque lata, longa pedes centum, ad traiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est. Tum elephanti per stabilem ratem tamquam viam praegredientibus feminis acti ubi in mino-
9 rem adplicatam transgressi sunt, extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter adnexa erat, vinculis ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad
10 alteram ripam pertrahitur. Ita primis expositis alii deinde repetiti ac traiecti sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continenti velut ponte agerentur; primus erat pavor, cum
11 soluta ab ceteris rate in altum raperentur. Ibi urgentes inter se cedentibus extremis ab aqua trepidationis aliquantum edebant, donec quietem ipse timor circumspectantibus
12 aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam saevientes quidam in flumen; sed pondere ipso stabiles, deiectis rectoribus, quaerendis pedetentim vadis, in terram evasere.

modo with the gen. is also common, as in 21, 30, 8.

9. **ab . . . navibus**: the agent construction, because the writer was thinking of the rowers. The *naves actuariae* were light boats with only one bank of oars; 38, 38, 8 *naves actuarias, quarum nulla plus quam triginta remis agatur*.

10. **continenti velut ponte**: *as if on a continuous bridge*. — **agerentur**: for the mood see on § 5 *destitueret*. — **ceteris**: usually explained as meaning *everything else*. It is possible, however, that Livy is guilty of an inconsistency, having in mind at this point the story as given by Polyb. 3, 46, that several (πλείους) rafts joined together in pairs extended some distance into the river, and that the one used for crossing, itself consisting of two parts, was attached to these. — **altum**: used regularly of the sea; here emphasizing the fear of the elephants as they saw themselves surrounded by water.

11. **urgentes inter se**: *crowding together*.

12. **pondere ipso stabiles**: *i.e.* they did not swim, but found water sufficiently shallow to allow them to walk, and, on account of their great weight, they were not carried down by the current. Polybius says that they were saved by the strength and length of their probosces, through which they

29. Dum elephanti traiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum ubi et quantae copiae essent et quid pararent. Huic alae equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. Proelium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium editur; nam praeter multa vulnera caedes etiam prope par utrimque fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis iam admodum fessis victoriam dedit. Victores ad centum quadraginta, nec omnes Romani, sed pars Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc principium simul omenque belli ut summae rerum pros- 1 2 3 4

breathed, raising them above the water. — **quaerendis**: the not uncommon use of the gerundive construction as an abl. of means or cause referring to present time; cf. 21, 36, 8; 22, 46, 9; Lane, 2266.

29. 1. **traiciuntur**: the hist. pres. with *dum* is often followed by the plup. in the main clause. — **quingentos**: detachments of Carthaginian cavalry of this number are mentioned elsewhere, *e.g.* 22, 48, 2, and it appears from 21, 45, 2 that this was a unit (*ala*) of the organization. — **castra Romana**: P. Cornelius Scipio, having sailed from Rome with one legion, was now encamped at the eastern mouth of the Rhone.

2. **ut ante dictum est**: 21, 26, 5 *trecentos interim delectos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliaribus Gallis ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes praemittit.* Livy's references to previous statements are usually in the passive, less often with *diximus*, and, still more rarely and first in the fourth decade, with *dixi*. (Wölfflin) — **trecenti**: in addition to these there was evidently a detachment of allied cavalry (see § 3 *Gallorum*), so that the Roman force in this skirmish was probably as numerous as the Carthaginian.

3. **praeter multa vulnera**: *besides the fact that many were wounded.* — **fuga**: not *flight*; rather, *panic*, which causes flight; cf. 1, 28, 5; 5, 38, 5; synonymous, therefore, with *pavor*. — **Gallorum**: poss. gen., in sense parallel with *Romani*; *not all being Romans, but a part belonging to the Gauls.*

4. ut . . . ita: *though . . . yet*; cf. 21, 35, 11. — **summae rerum**: the war as a whole. — **haud**: qualifying only *incruentam*; *haud sane incruentam* and *ancipitis certaminis*, though of different gram-

perum eventum ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit.

5 Vt re ita gesta, ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consiliis coeptis-
6 que hostis et ipse conatus caperet, et Hannibalem incertum, utrum coeptum in Italiam intenderet iter an cum eo qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus manus consereret, avertit a praesenti certamine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali adventus, qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore adfirmantes integro bello (nusquam ante libatis viribus) Italiam adgrediendam censent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem, nondum oblitterata memoria superioris
7 belli, sed magis iter inmensum Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.

matical nature, are properly connected as modifiers of *victoriam*; cf. 21, 36, 1 *angustiorem rupem atque ita rectis saxis*; 38, 50, 4; 39, 51, 7. For *haud sane* see on 39, 51, 4.

5. **ut**: the force of this word does not go beyond *redierunt*. — **sui**: cf. 1, 7, 1; 1, 25, 1. — **nec** = *et non*, the conjunction being correlative with *et* before *Hannibalem*; cf. 9, 4, 8. — **Scipioni**: cf. 21, 30, 1 *ipsi*. — **conatus caperet**: cf. 9, 4, 1.

6. **Hannibalem**: object of *avertit*. — **Romanus exercitus**: see on *Praef.* 11 *in quam civitatem*. — **Boiorum**: living in northern Italy, in the neighborhood of Bononia. Magalus was their king. — **reguli**: usually a petty chieftain; sometimes a ruler of considerable power, but unknown at Rome, as in 5, 38, 3, where Brennus is called *regulus Gallorum*; elsewhere, a prince. — **viribus**: according to Polyb. 3, 60, 5 Hannibal now had, after various losses, 38,000 infantry and more than 8000 cavalry.

7. **timebat . . . metuebat**: *timeo* usually indicates the effect of a present cause, *metuo* that of a future probability; the distinction may be suggested by translating respectively *to fear* and *to dread*. — **iter . . . Alpesque**: not hendiadys; they feared the length of the journey and the dangers of the Alps. — **utique inexpertis**: *at any rate for those unfamiliar with them*.

30. 1. **ipsi**: emphasizing the contrast between *his own* intention and the fears of his army. For

30. Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere ire atque Italiam petere, advocata contione varie militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque: mirari se, quinam pectora semper inpavida repens terror invaserit. Per tot annos vincentis eos stipendia facere neque ante Hispania excessisse quam omnes gentesque et terrae quas duo diversa maria amplectantur Carthaginiensium essent. Indignatos deinde, quod, quicumque Saguntum obsedissent velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus, Hiberum traiecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum id longum,

the construction cf. 21, 29, 5 *Scipioni*. — **pergere ire**: cf. 9, 2, 8. — **castigando adhortandoque**: these words describe the two equal parts into which the speech is divided, — the first part occupying §§ 2–6, the second §§ 7–11. This speech is one of the best in Livy, and as an example of careful arrangement and concentrated eloquence is hardly surpassed. There is not a useless sentence, scarcely a phrase which does not contribute to the effectiveness of the climax. Hannibal points out the absurdity of his soldiers' fear, in view of the more difficult things which they have already accomplished; he encourages them to think that the Alps are by no means impassable; and finally calls attention to the prize which awaits them at the end of the journey.

2. **quinam**: see on 9, 17, 2. — **stipendia facere**: *had served*, the pres. indicating that the service still continued; cf. our phrase, *to make money*. — **omnes . . . essent**: an exaggeration; only the southern part of the peninsula and the eastern part as far north as the Ebro were in the power of Carthage. — **gentesque et terrae**: correlative use of *que* and *et* as in *Praef.* 13. — **diversa**: *opposite*.

3. **indignatos**: shrewdly inserted, to re-kindle their resentment; the position gives force to the word. — **quicumque . . . dedi**: during the siege of Saguntum Rome had sent envoys to Hannibal to expostulate; when they were not received by him, they went on to Carthage and demanded that Hannibal and his councillors be surrendered for punishment (21, 18, 4; Polyb. 3, 20, 8); the present statement, like that of 21, 44, 4 is an exaggeration. — **dedi**: sc. the subject *eos*, which is also the antecedent of *quicumque*. — **nomen Romanorum**: usually *nomen*

5 cum ab occasu solis ad exortus intenderent iter; nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenaeum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot milibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi traiectum, in con-
6 spectu Alpis habeant, quarum alterum latus Italiae sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere — quid Alpis aliud
7 esse credentes quam montium altitudines? Fingerent altiores Pyrenaei iugis; nullas profecto terras caelum contingere nec *in*exsuperabiles humano generi esse. Alpis quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere animantes; per-
8 vias faucis esse exercitibus. Eos ipsos quos cernant legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpis transgressos. Ne maiores quidem eorum indigenas, sed advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alpis ingentibus saepe agminibus cum liberis ac con-
9 iugibus migrantium modo tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem

Romanum or *Romanum nomen*; cf. 9, 7, 1; 21, 43, 12. — **orbem terrarum**: Livy is thinking of the extent of the Roman Empire in the time of Augustus; at the beginning of the Second Punic War, though Rome was perhaps the most powerful city in the world (see § 10 *caput orbis terrarum*), her actual control did not reach beyond Italy.

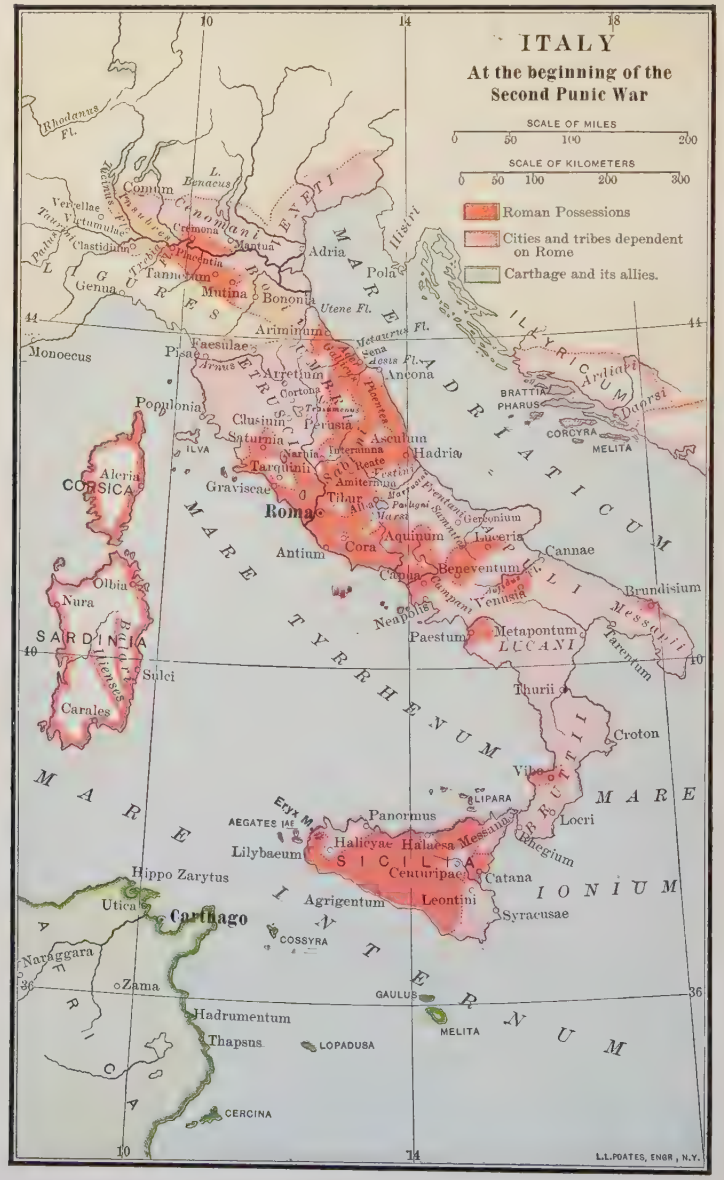
4. **exortus**: a rare substitute for the usual *ortus*; the plural indicates the rising of the sun on successive days.

5. **emensam**: for the passive use of this deponent verb cf. 21, 1, 2 *expertas*. — **cernant, habeant**: though the hist. pres. with *postquam* is common, the real pres. is rare, and indicates a present condition which is the result of past actions. (H. J. Mueller) — **saltum**: *mountains*; cf. § 7. — **inter ferocissimas gentes**: cf. 21, 43, 13. — **Italiae**: possessive genitive.

6. **portis hostium**: cf. 21, 35, 9.

7. **fingerent**: representing an imperative in the direct discourse. — **Pyrenaei**: an adj.; sc. *saltus*.

8. **advenas**: for the attributive use of the noun cf. 2, 1, 4 *transfuga*. — **ingentibus agminibus**: *in large bands*; abl. of manner; cf. 2, 23, 8. — **liberis ac coniugibus**: for this unusual order cf. 3, 45, 8; in each passage there is reason for emphasizing the reference to chil-


ITALY
At the beginning of the Second Punic War
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
SCALE OF KILOMETERS
0 50 100 200 300
Roman Possessions
Cities and tribes dependent on Rome
Carthage and its allies.
MARE TYRRHENUM
MARE ADRIATICUM
MARE IONIUM
MARE LIBYCUM
SARDINIA
CORSICA
SICILIA
Roma
Carthago
Neapolis
Capua
Cannae
Arretium
Ariminum
Ancona
Brundisium
Tarentum
Messapii
Lucani
Bruttii
Etruria
Umbri
Picentes
Samnites
Apulia
Campani
Latium
Liguria
Gallia Cisalpina
Veneti
Illyricum
Histri
Liburni
Dalmatae
Ligures
Gallia
Hispania
Africa
Numidia
Rhodanus Fl.
Padus Fl.
Tiberis Fl.
Arnus Fl.
Utene Fl.
Metaurus Fl.
Aesis Fl.
Sena Gallica
Trasimenus L.
Benacus L.
Verbanus L.
Larius L.
Sabatinus L.
Volturnus Fl.
Liris Fl.
Silarus Fl.
Aufidus Fl.
Sagra Fl.
Himera Fl.
Eryx Mt.
Aegates Ins.
Lipara
Vibo
Croton
Locri
Rhegium
Messana
Panormus
Halaesa
Halicyae
Lilybaeum
Hippo Zarytus
Utica
Agrigentum
Leontini
Catana
Syracusae
Centuripae
Cossyra
Gaulus
Melita
Lopadusa
Cercina
Thapsus
Hadrumentum
Zama
Naraggara
Sulci
Carales
Olbia
Nura
Alcria
Graviscae
Tarquinii
Saturnia
Clusium
Perusia
Cortona
Arretium
Pisae
Faesulae
Monoecus
Genua
Mutina
Bononia
Ariminum
Adria
Pola
Ancona
Brattia
Pharus
Corcyra
Melita
Asculum
Hadria
Interamna
Nursia
Ilva
Populonia
Tarquinii
Tilur
Alsium
Fregenae
Veientes
Falisci
Sutrini
Nepete
Aquinum
Cora
Antium
Gerbonium
Luceria
Beneventum
Teanum
Sidicini
Tarentini
Metapontum
Paestum
Thurii
Volsci
Aequi
Hernici
Marsi
Paeligni
Marrucini
Frentani
Vestini
Picentini
Sabini
Umbri
Cenomani
Insubres
Boii
Taurini
Lepontii
Salassi
Vertellae
Victumulae
Cremona
Mantua
Clastidium
Ticinus Fl.
Padus Fl.
Trebia Fl.
Rhodanus Fl.
Alpes
Gallia
Hispania
Africa
Numidia
L. Benacus
L. Verbanus
L. Larius
L. Sabatinus
L. Trasimenus

armato nihil secum praeter instrumenta belli portanti quid invium aut inexsuperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse! Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam adeo 10
asperum atque arduum videri, quod inceptum moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea, quae adiri posse Poenus de- 11
speret. Proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti per eos dies totiens ab se victae aut itineris finem sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.

Crossing of the Alps

34. Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut 1
inter montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto sed suis

dren. — **migrantium modo**: *i.e.* carrying all their possessions, as contrasted with *nihil . . . portanti* in the next section. With *modo* cf. 21, 28, 7 *in modum*.

9. **quidem**: used as in § 7 to emphasize a climax. — **nihil . . . portanti**: 21, 60, 9 *omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia inpedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenaeum* (*i.e.* in Spain) *relictis*. — **Saguntum**: note the position, and the contrast with *Romam* at the beginning of the next sentence. — **exhaustum**: cf. 25, 31, 7 *laborum periculorumque . . . exhaustorum*.

10. **asperum atque arduum**: see on *Praef.* 12. — **quod . . . moretur**: a characteristic clause, taking the place of the usual result clause with *ut* following *adeo*.

11. **ea**: Rome and her possessions. — **cederent, sperent**: both verbs represent imperatives in the direct discourse, but the second, indicating the wish of the speaker, is put in the present tense, and thus retains much of its original force; see on 1, 27, 8. — **finem**: in app. with *campum*. — **campum**: sc. *Martium*. — **Tiberi**: cf. the use of the acc. with *interiaceo* in 7, 29, 6.

Hannibal marched up the Rhone, according to Livy as far as its junction with the Isère, according to Polybius ten days' march, which would have carried him probably as far as Vienne. Then, turning to the east, he proceeded without opposition to the foothills of the Alps. Here he was opposed by the native mountaineers, who, familiar with the region, by the use of guerrilla tactics threw

2 artibus, fraude et insidiis, est prope circumventus. Magno natu principes castellorum oratores ad Poenum veniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Poenorum; itaque oboedienter 3 imperata facturos; commeatum itinerisque duces et ad fidem 4 promissorum obsides acciperet. Hannibal nec temere credendum nec aspernandum ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne cum respondisset, obsidibus quos dabant acceptis et commeatu, quem in viam ipsi detulerant, usus, nequaquam ut inter pacatos composito agmine duces eorum 5 sequitur. Primum agmen elephanti et equites erant; ipse post cum robore peditum circumspectans sollicitusque ad 6 omnia incedebat. Vbi in angustiorem viam et parte altera

the army into confusion, and might have destroyed it completely, if Hannibal himself had not scattered them by a vigorous attack.

34. 1. **frequentem**: used regularly of places, when accompanied, as here, by a dependent abl.; therefore, *populum* may be translated *district*; cf. 35, 1, 6 *acie frequenti armatis*. δῆμος is used by Homer in this sense. — **ut inter montanos**: cf. 1, 3, 3; 5, 41, 1; 22, 5, 1. — **suis artibus**: cf. 21, 4, 9.

2. **magno natu**: see on 2, 23, 3. — **castellorum**: the fortified settlements of the Gauls. — **alienis malis**: for the thought cf. 3, 50, 8. — **doctos**: *taught*; cf. the meaning of *documentum* in 3, 50, 8. The compound *edoctus* is most commonly used in this way (see 30, 37, 1); *doctus* is regularly used as an adj. meaning *learned*. — **malle**: for the omission of the subject *se* cf. 5, 36, 2 *credere*.

3. **ad fidem promissorum**: *as a guarantee of their promises*; for the construction cf. 38, 51, 1.

4. **cum**: often put by Livy in the latter part of the clause near the verb; cf. 26, 14, 5. — **nequaquam**: connect with *composito*; *arranging the army by no means as was usual among a peaceful population*; cf. 35, 4, 3 *agmine incauto, ut inter pacatos, ducebat*. The baggage, which was usually in the rear, was now placed in the center, protected by the cavalry in front and the infantry behind.

5. **post**: for this local use of the adv. cf. 22, 5, 8. — **sollicitusque ad omnia**: cf. 5, 47, 3.

6. **in angustiorem viam**: according to Livy, Hannibal crossed

subiectam iugo insuper inminenti ventum est, undique ex insidiis barbari a fronte ab tergo coorti comminus eminus petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima ab 7
tergo vis hominum urgebat. In eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc 8
quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est. Nam dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus praesidio erat, ita

the Alps over Mt. Genèvre; according to Polybius, over the Little St. Bernard. The account of Polybius, who claims that he himself visited the Alps to investigate the subject, is the one generally accepted. Between Brigantio and the Little St. Bernard there is a narrow rocky valley which may be the *angustior via* of the text. Moreover the λευκόπετρον ὀχυρόν of Polybius has sometimes been identified with *La roche blanche* near Scez at the foot of the pass over the mountain. — **a fronte ab tergo**: see on 5, 48, 6; the asyndeton suggests the simultaneous appearance of the barbarians in various places. Note also the asyndeton between *comminus* and *eminus* and that between *petunt* and *devolvunt*, which emphasize the confusion caused by the various methods of attack. — **petunt**: rarely used without an object; true also of *urgebat* in the next section.

7. **in eos . . . fecit**: *i.e.* the resistance they encountered was such that it was clear etc. — **firmata**: not *strengthened*, but *strong*, *i.e.* composed of good troops; see on 9, 3, 10. — **extrema**: see on 5, 38, 4 and cf. 7, 29, 2. — **accipienda fuerit**: *must have been suffered*; the perf. subj. of the periphrastic form is regularly used when the apodosis of a non-occurrent condition in past time is itself a dependent clause requiring the subjunctive; cf. 26, 10, 7.

8. **tunc quoque**: *even as it was*; cf. 1, 28, 9 *nunc*. — **ad extremum periculi**: cf. 10, 11, 9 *ventumque ad inopiae ultimum foret*. — **prope**: either prep. (cf. 1, 25, 13) or adv., *ad* governing *perniciem* as well as *extremum*. — **demittere agmen**: the infantry under Hannibal were able to defend themselves, but he hesitated to lead them down into the pass where they were exposed to attack on the flank (see § 6 *parte . . . inminenti* and § 9 *per obliqua*) as well as in the rear; thus the cavalry, protected in the rear by the infantry, advanced, and a gap was opened between the cavalry and infantry, which the moun-

9 peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxili reliqui erat, occursantes per obliqua montani interrupto medio agmine viam insedere; noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque inpedimentis acta est.

1 35. Postero die iam segnius intercursantibus barbaris, iunctae copiae, saltusque haud sine clade, maiore tamen 2 iumentorum quam hominum pernicie superatus. Inde montani pauciores iam et latrocini magis quam belli more concursabant modo in primum modo in novissimum agmen, utcumque aut locus opportunitatem daret aut progressi 3 morative aliquam occasionem fecissent. Elephanti sicut per artas, praecipites vias magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacumque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen praebebant.

4 Nono die in iugum Alpium perventum est per invia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi fides

taineers filled, rushing in from above. For the meaning of *demittere* see on 9, 2, 9. — **reliqui**: for examples of this partitive gen. see Lane, 1251; *auxili* also is a partitive gen., dependent on *quicquam*.

9. **occursantes**: note the frequentative and cf. the meaning in 21, 28, 1. — **per obliqua**: the acc. in adverbial phrases is less common than the abl.; see on 1, 25, 9. — **Hannibali**: dat. of agent; cf. 5, 38, 6 *proximis*.

35. 1. **intercursantibus**: Livy was the first prose writer to use this verb and the corresponding noun *intercursus* (2, 29, 4; 21, 46, 7).

2. **utcumque**: *whenever*; for the subj. *daret* and *fecisset* see on 3, 36, 8 and cf. § 3 *incederent* and § 4 *esset*. — **opportunitatem daret ... occasionem fecissent**: the meaning of the second phrase is not different from that of the first, and the repetition makes the sentence somewhat cumbersome. — **progressi**: *i.e.* advancing too far.

3. **sicut ... ita**: cf. 21, 29, 4. — **artas, praecipites**: see on 5, 48, 6. — **insuetis**: used absolutely, as in 3, 52, 5; *adeundi* is to be connected with *metus*.

4. **nono die**: from the foot of the Alps. — **per**: used in different senses with the two substantives; cf. 21, 43, 9. — **pleraque**: to be

iis non esset, temere initae valles a coniectantibus iter faciebant. Biduum in iugo stativa habita, fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; iumentaque aliquot, quae prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis taedio tot malorum nivis etiam casus, occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum, ingentem terrorem adiecit. Per omnia nive oppleta cum signis prima luce motis segniter agmen incederet, pigritiaque et desperatio in omnium vultu emineret, praegressus signa Hannibal in promunturio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere iussis militibus Italiam ostentat subiectosque Alpinis montibus circumpadanos campos, moeniaque eos

taken also with *errores*; cf. 21, 32, 9 *inter confragosa omnia praeruptaque*. — **ducentium**: those of 21, 34, 3. — **initae valles**: see on 21, 1, 5 *angebant*. The meaning is that what promised to be an open pass was found at the further end to be closed.

5. **biduum**: probably the ninth and tenth days. — **stativa**: a name sometimes given to a camp established for more than one night; cf. 26, 9, 2.

6. **fessis**: here used of mental exhaustion; in § 5 in its usual sense, of physical fatigue. — **casus**: for this use in the literal sense cf. 5, 47, 5. — **occidente . . . Vergiliarum**: *as it was about the time of the setting of the Pleiades*. As this did not occur till the twenty-sixth of October and the battle of the Trebia was fought at about the time of the winter solstice, the interval is hardly sufficient for the events which intervened. The words of the text do not necessarily mean, however, that the constellation was actually setting at this time, and it is therefore generally assumed that Hannibal crossed the Alps in the latter part of September. Snow falls as early as that on the Little St. Bernard.

7. **per . . . oppleta**: *through places all blocked with snow*; cf. 22, 6, 5. — **prima luce**: of the eleventh day. — **pigritia**: *weariness*. — **emineret**: that the prep. has lost all its force in the compound is evident from *in vultu*.

8. **ostentat**: with two constructions, direct object and indirect discourse. — **circumpadanos campos**: not to be taken literally, as there is no place on the Little St. Bernard or on Mt. Genèvre from which the valley of the Po can be seen.

9. **moeniaque . . . Romanae**:

tum transcendere non Italiae modo sed etiam urbis Romanae; cetera plana, proclivia fore; uno aut summum altero proelio arcem et caput Italiae in manu ac potestate habituros.

10 Procedere inde agmen coepit, iam nihil ne hostibus quidem praeter parva furta per occasionem temptantibus.
11 Ceterum iter multo quam in ascensu fuerat, ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita adrectiora sunt, difficilius fuit. Omnis enim ferme via praeceps, angusta,
12 lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se ab lapsu possent nec qui paulum titubassent haerere adfixi vestigio suo, aliique super alios et iumenta in homines occiderent.

1 36. Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem atque ita rectis saxis ut aegre expeditus miles temptabundus

cf. 21, 30, 6 *in ipsis portis hostium;* Serv. *ad Aen.* 10, 13 *Alpes . . . secundum Catonem et Livium muri vice tuebantur Italiam.* — **cetera . . . fore**: referring both to their line of march and to the battles they would fight. This was a hopeful view of the situation, as they had hitherto met only the Gauls, and were now to fight regular battles with the trained troops of Rome. — **summum**: *at most*.

10. **ne . . . quidem**: *i.e.* only a small part of the journey remained, and now not even the enemy opposed their progress. — **furta**: *surprises;* cf. § 2 *latrocini*.

11. **ut**: *as*, introducing an explanation; for the correlatives *sicut . . . ita* cf. 21, 29, 4. — **pleraque**: cf. 21, 37, 5 *inferiora*. — **ab Italia**: *on the Italian side;* see on 21, 27, 1 *ex adverso*.

12. **haerere . . . suo**: *stand fast in their tracks;* cf. 22, 49, 4. — **aliique super alios**: see on 22, 6, 5. *que = and so*, introducing, as often, the result of the preceding statement. — **occiderent**: rarely used in this sense; *incido* would be the ordinary verb.

36. 1. **angustiorem . . ., rectis saxis**: for this combination of two attributives grammatically unlike see on 21, 29, 4. For *rectus*, of vertical direction, cf. 24, 34, 11 and 21, 35, 11 *arrectiora*. — **rupem**: *a rocky place; rupes* is a rocky surface of large extent, — a cliff or hill; *saxum* is a small detached or projecting rock; cf. 32, 4, 5 *saxo undique abscisо rupibus inposita est* (*urbs*). By *rectis saxis* Livy

manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes demittere sese posset. Natura locus iam ante praeceps 2
recenti lapsu terrae in pedum mille admodum altitudinem abruptus erat. Ibi cum velut ad finem viae equites consti- 3
tissent, miranti Hannibali, quae res moraretur agmen, nuntiatur rupem inviam esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad locum visendum. Haud dubia res visa quin per invia circa nec 4
trita antea quamvis longo ambitu circumduceret agmen. Ea vero via inexsuperabilis fuit. Nam cum super veterem 5
nivem intactam nova modicae altitudinis esset, molli nec praealtae facile pedes ingredientium insistebant; ut vero 6
tot hominum iumentorumque incessu dilapsa est per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis nivis ingrediebantur. Taetra ibi luctatio erat via lubrica [glacie] non 7
recipiente vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adiuvissent, ipsis

means that the narrow road over the *rupes* was interrupted at intervals by steep rocky surfaces, which were difficult for the infantry and must have been impossible for the cavalry and elephants. — **temptabundus**: *feeling their way;* Livy uses frequently these adjs. in *-bundus*. This one appears to be found only here. — **circa**: often used by Livy as equivalent to an adj. or clause; cf. §§ 4 and 7 and § 6 *infra*.

2. **admodum**: *fully*. — **abruptus erat**: cf. 42, 15, 5.

4. **circumduceret**: *must lead around;* cf. 9, 2, 5 *ferret*.

5. **ea vero via**: *but this road, i.e.* the one last mentioned; *vero* as in § 6. — **nivem**: Polyb. 3, 55, 1 says it was the snow of the previous year; Livy in §§ 6 and 8 calls it *glacies*. As Hannibal had probably not reached the region of perpetual snow and as there is no glacier in the Little St. Bernard, the passage refers perhaps to a ravine on the left bank of La Thuile, where the avalanches from the Cramont sometimes remain unmelted during the summer.

6. **infra**: see on § 1 *circa*. — **fluentem . . . nivis**: *slush*.

7. **in prono**: *on the slope*. — **citius**: *i.e.* than on level ground. — **ut . . . conruerent**: they fell and, having almost regained their feet, fell again. — **ipsis**: as their feet be-

adminiculis prolapsis iterum conruerent; nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset, erant; ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive volutabantur.
8 Iumenta secabant interdum etiam infimam ingredientia nivem et prolapsa iactandis gravius in conitendo ungulis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque velut pedica capta haererent in dura et alte concreta glacie.

37. Tandem nequiquam iumentis atque hominibus fatigatis castra in iugo posita, aegerrime ad id ipsum loco purgato tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit.
2 Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, cum caedendum esset saxum, arboribus circa inmanibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto

fore, so now their hands and knees failed them. — **ad quas . . . posset**: *pushing against which with foot or hand they could struggle on.* — **tantum**: loosely used, referring to the fact that there was no help in external aids; there was nothing but slippery ice and melting snow.

8. infimam: for the superl. used of only two, see on 1, 3, 10. — **nivem**: obj. of *secabant*; *ingredientia* is used absolutely. — **iactandis**: for this use of the gerundive see on 21, 28, 12. — The minute details of this description are perhaps unnecessary and inappropriate in a general history, but they give a very vivid picture of the scene.

37. 1. iugo: evidently not the *iugum* of 21, 35, 5, where they had encamped for two days, and which they had left that morning, but the place mentioned in 21, 36, 1, where further advance had been made impossible by the recent landslide. — **ad id ipsum**: cf. 22, 4, 2.

2. ad rupem muniendam: *to make the cliff passable;* the regular expression would be *viam per rupem muniendam.* 27, 39, 7 *per munita pleraque transitu fratris, quae antea invia fuerant, ducebat*; Tac. *Agr.* 31 *silvis ac paludibus emuniendis.* — **arboribus circa inmanibus**: inconsistent with § 4 *nuda.* — **circa**: see on 9, 2, 7 and 21, 36, 1. — **deiectis detruncatisque**: *cut down and cut up;* with *deiectis* cf. 9, 2, 9 *deiectu.* — **vis venti**: *a strong wind;* cf. 21, 58,

putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt 3
molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos, ut non iumenta
solum sed elephanti etiam deduci possent. Quadriduum 4
circa rupem consumptum iumentis prope fame absumptis;
nuda enim fere cacumina sunt et, si quid est pabuli, obruunt
nives. Inferiora valles apricos*que* quosdam colles habent 5
rivosque prope silvas et iam humano cultu digniora loca.
Ibi iumenta in pabulum missa, et quies muniendo fessis 6
hominibus data. Triduo inde ad planum descensum, iam
et locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.

9 *vis frigoris*. — **infuso aceto**: though the combination of acid and fire will cause the surface of stone to crumble, and though this device is mentioned by several ancient writers, it is of course impossible that Hannibal could have carried with him enough vinegar to produce any appreciable effect. This detail is not mentioned by Polybius.

3. **pandunt**: *split*. — **molliuntque . . . clivos**: *i.e.* they built a curved road in order to make the descent more gradual. App. *Hann.* says that in his time the road was called δίοδος Ἀννίβου, and as late as the sixteenth century a road cut in the rocks of Mt. Genèvre was called by the same name.

4. **quadriduum**: see on 21, 35, 5 *biduum*; the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th days. — **absumptis**: see on 21, 1, 5 *inposito*. — **si . . . nives**: *i.e.* the small growth of the short summer is covered by snow early in the fall.

5. **inferiora**: for this use of the neuter see on 5, 38, 4 and cf. 21, 35, 11 *pleraque*. — **prope silvas**: the prepositional phrase used attributively; see on 1, 25, 11 and cf. 21, 46, 8 *de Hannibale*. — **iam**: *now*, when this point in the descent was reached; cf. § 6.

6. **triduo**: if this includes all the time since they left the *rupes* of § 4, they reached the plain, according to Livy, on the 17th day (see on § 4 *quadriduum*), or, if they started on the last day of the four-day stop, on the 16th day after the beginning of the ascent. Polyb. 3, 56, 3 says that the actual passage of the Alps occupied fifteen days; cf. Livy 21, 38, 1 *ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis*. For the construction of *triduo* see on 6, 35, 4 *triennio*.

In chap. 38 Livy discusses Hannibal's route over the Alps and the number of his troops. In

Speeches of Scipio and Hannibal. Battle of the Ticinus River.

1 **40.** "Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem,
quem in Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud
2 vos; quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites, qui equi-
tatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent,
aut eas legiones, cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum
hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certa-
3 men pro victoria habui? Nunc, quia ille exercitus, Hispa-
niae provinciae scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis
auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque
4 Romanus voluit, ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hanni-

chap. 39 Hannibal, reaching the Po, is confronted by P. Scipio, who, after his unsuccessful effort to bring about a battle at the Rhone (see chap. 29), has sent his brother, Cn. Scipio, with a part of the army into Spain and has himself returned to Italy. The following speeches are supposed to have been delivered just before the meeting at the Ticinus. Scipio's speech is given first.

40. 1. loqui: the inf. with *supersedeo* was rare at all times and is not found at all in Cicero and Caesar; for the usual construction see 38, 51, 8.

2. qui . . . vicissent: see 21, 29, 1–4; an absurd exaggeration, as is *fugientem . . . secutus*.

3. nunc: *as it is;* contrasted with § 1 *si . . . habui;* cf. 1, 28, 9. — **quia**: introducing *gerit* and *obtuli*, with asyndeton between the two clauses. — **meis auspiciis**: only the magistrate in command of the army was entitled to preside when the auspices were taken by the augurs; and they could not be taken without his presence. In this case Cn. Scipio, acting as his brother's representative in Spain, administers in his name the *imperium* and the *auspicium*. — **ubi . . . voluit**: the senate decided how many legions should be enrolled and where they should be sent; the consuls drew by lot their provinces and therefore their armies. The people participated in this arrangement only indirectly by their election of the consuls and the declaration of war. — **eum**: the army. — **voluit**: for the singular with plural subject see on 1, 3, 1.

4. consulem: Sempronius, the other consul, had been sent to Sicily, and did not return to Italy

balem ac Poenos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certamini obtuli, novo imperatori apud novos milites pauca verba facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignoretis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terra marique priore bello vicistis, a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli praemia Siciliam ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine is vobis illisque animus qui victoribus et victis esse solet. Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est, pugnaturi sunt; nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detractavere,

until after the battle at the Ticinus. — **novos milites**: in 21, 43, 14 Hannibal calls them *exercitus tiro*. Scipio means, however, not *inexperienced*, but *unfamiliar* to himself.

5. **ne . . . ignoretis**: see on 1, 28, 5 *teneat*. — **vicistis, exegistis**: said of the Romans in general. — **stipendium per viginti annos**: at the end of the First Punic War Carthage agreed to pay 3200 talents; four years later the amount was increased by 1200 talents. According to the first plan this indemnity was to be paid in twenty annual installments, but in the formal agreement these were reduced to ten. When the amount of the indemnity was increased, it is possible that the number of payments was raised to twenty. — **capta . . . habetis**: an excellent illustration of the origin of our compound tenses; see on 3, 48, 1. — **Siciliam ac Sardiniam**: Sicily was acquired in the First Punic War (see on 21, 1, 5) and at the close of the war became the first Roman province. Here, as elsewhere, Livy speaks as if Sardinia had been acquired at the same time; he gives the true story in 21, 1, 5.

6. **audent**: see on 21, 4, 4.

7. **incolumi**: intact only in comparison with its condition after crossing the Alps. According to Livy Hannibal led 90,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry across the Ebro. According to Polybius, when he crossed the Pyrenees, his army had been reduced by warfare with native tribes, by desertion, and in other ways to 50,000 infantry and 9000 cavalry; and, before he reached the Alps, to 38,000 infantry and 8000 cavalry. As to the number which finally reached Italy, Livy says that authorities differed, from 20,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry to 100,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry. Polybius says of infantry there were 12,000 Africans

eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis [qui plures paene perierint quam super-
8 sint] plus spei nactos esse. 'At enim pauci quidem sunt sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora ac vires
9 vix sustinere vis ulla possit.' Effigies immo, umbrae hominum, fame frigore inluvie squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque; ad hoc praeusti artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torrida gelu, quassata fractaque
10 arma, claudi ac debiles equi. Cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedite pugnaturi estis; reliquias extremas hostium, non hostem habetis; ac nihil magis vereor quam ne, cum vos
11 pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem videantur. Sed ita forsitan decuit, cum foederum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana ope committere ac profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus, commissum ac profligatum conficere.

and 8000 Spaniards, of cavalry not more than 6000. — **duabus partibus**: two thirds.

8. **at enim**: introducing an imaginary objection, prefaced by an admission of the previous statement; *but you say that is unimportant, for* etc. — **robora ac vires**: see on 21, 1, 2.

9. **immo**: *on the contrary*; before Livy always the first word in its sentence; cf. 39, 40, 7. — **enecti**: literally *killed*, and thus consistent with *umbrae hominum, ghosts*; cf. 2, 23, 3 *pallore ac macie perempti*. — **saxa rupesque**: see on 21, 36, 1. — **ad hoc**: *besides*; cf. 2, 23, 4. — **praeusti**: *frozen at the ends*; *i.e.* their fingers and toes. — **nervi**: *muscles*. — **membra**: all parts of the body, as distinct from *artus, limbs*.

10. **vos**: emphatically contrasted with *Alpes*.

11. **decuit**: for the mood see on *Praef.* 12 *erunt*. — **ruptore**: see on 21, 30, 8 *advenas*. By his attack upon Saguntum Hannibal had violated the treaty which his predecessor Hasdrubal had made with Rome; 21, 2, 7 *ut finis utriusque imperi esset amnis Hiberus Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur*. — **profligare**: *almost finish*; cf. 3, 50, 10.

41. 1. **adhortandi**: gen. sing. neut. agreeing with *vestri*, which in its origin is a poss. pronoun.

3. **cum . . . oram**: the report

41. "Non vereor ne quis me haec vestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo adfectum esse. Licuit in Hispaniam, provinciam meam, quo iam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consili participem ac periculi socium haberem et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem et minorem haud dubie molem belli; tamen, cum praeterveherer navibus Galliae oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram egressus praemisso equitatu ad Rhodanum movi castra. Equestri proelio, qua parte copiarum conserendi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia adsequi terra non poteram, [neque] regressus ad navis [erat], quanta maxime potui celeritate tanto maris terrarumque circuitu, in radicibus prope Alpium huic timendo hosti obvius fui. Vtrum, cum declinarem certamen, inprovidus incidisse videor, an occurrere in vestigiis eius, lacessere ac

had reached Rome that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro, and Scipio was planning to meet him in northeastern Spain or southeastern Gaul. — **ad famam**: for this use of *ad* see on 1, 25, 6. — **ad Rhodanum**: he landed at Massilia, and then established himself at the eastern mouth of the Rhone.

4. **equestri proelio**: see 21, 29, 1–3. This sentence and the next repeat the exaggeration of 21, 40, 2; Scipio himself was not present at the skirmish. — **qua parte**: loosely connected with *equestri*, which is equivalent to *equitum*; cf. 22, 44, 4 and 21, 17, 8 *neque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli dimicaturum hostem credebant*; see on 5, 40, 3. — **conserendi manum**: for the sing. see on 30, 31, 8. — **in modum**: see on 21, 28, 7. — **quanta maxime**: see on 9, 10, 10. — **circuitu**: on his return to Italy Scipio landed at Pisa. — **timendo**: ironical. — **obvius fui**: non-committal, as opposed to *incidisse* (an accidental meeting) and *occurrere* (an intentional meeting) in § 5.

5. **occurrere in vestigiis eius**: not literally true, and the combination of the verb and phrase is illogical. Scipio has not followed in the tracks of Hannibal; he has, however, followed him to Italy,

6 trahere ad decernendum? Experiri iuvat, utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per viginti annos terra ediderit, an iidem sint, qui ad Aegatis pugnaverunt insulas et quos ab Eryce 7 duodevicenis denariis aestimatos emisistis, et utrum Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a patre 8 relictus. Quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitaret, respiceret profecto, si non patriam victam, domum certe patremque 9 et foedera Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui iussus ab consule nostro praesidium deduxit ab Eryce, qui graves inpositas victis Carthaginiensibus leges fremens maerensque accepit, qui decedens Sicilia stipendium popu- 10 lo Romano dare pactus est. Itaque vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo quo adversus alios hostes soletis pugnare

and in that general sense the phrase is used.

6. **viginti**: it was twenty-three years since the end of the First Punic War; cf. 21, 43, 13. — **iidem**: *i.e.* of the same sort as those etc. — **ab Eryce**: see on 21, 1, 5 *nimis . . . desperatione.* — **duodevicenis denariis**: about $3.50; this payment is not elsewhere mentioned.

7. **itinerum Herculis**: Nepos, *Hann.* 3, 4 *quas (Alpes) nemo umquam cum exercitu ante eum praeter Herculem Graium transierat, quo facto is hodie saltus Graius appellatur;* Livy mentions the story in 5, 34, 6. — **vectigalis stipendiariusque**: *vectigal* was a tax payable in kind, *e.g.* tithes of farm produce; *stipendium* was a money tax. The former epithet is not truthfully applied to Hannibal. Moreover, the payment of a war indemnity did not constitute a real *stipendium.* The expression is used elsewhere, however, in a general sense, to indicate complete subjection.

8. **quem nisi** = *qui, nisi eum;* cf. § 15 *quas* and 9, 11, 3 *quem.* — **scelus**: see on 21, 40, 11. — **agitaret**: 31, 18, 9 *cum velut Sagunti excidium Hannibali, sic Philippo Abydenorum clades ad Romanum bellum animos fecisset.* — **foedera**: Hamilcar had arranged only the preliminaries, and that, too, against his own wish; see 21, 1, 5.

9. **consule**: Q. Lutatius Catulus. — **fremens maerensque**: cf. 30, 20, 7–9 for a description of Hannibal's feeling on leaving Italy. — **dare pactus est**: see on 22, 6, 6.

velim, sed cum indignatione quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes. Licuit ad Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum, 11
fame, interficere; licuit victricem classem in Africam traicere atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem delere; veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex 12
obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelae deinde nostrae duximus, cum Africo bello urgerentur. Pro his inpertitis 13
furiosum iuvenem sequentes oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute esset certamen! Non de possessione Siciliae 14
ac Sardiniae, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis est pugnandum. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, 15
qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant, conparari nova possint praesidia. Hic est obstandum, milites, velut si ante Romana moenia pugnemus. Vnus quisque se non corpus suum sed coniugem 16

11. **ultimo**: *extreme*; cf. 3, 47, 2 and 21, 44, 4. With *humanorum* sc. *suppliciorum*; cf. 5, 41, 8. For the thought cf. 27, 44, 8.

12. **veniam**: the asyndeton and especially the juxtaposition of *Carthaginem delere* and *veniam dedimus* are very effective. — **tutelae . . . duximus**: *we regarded them as under our protection*; for *tutelae* see on 1, 6, 4. The Romans allowed the Carthaginians, during the war with their mercenaries, to buy supplies and even enlist troops in Italy, but at the same time took a treacherous advantage of them; see on 21, 1, 3.

13. **furiosum**: the same idea as *agitaret* in § 8. — **oppugnatum**: Livy often uses the supine with object accusative, though, like Cicero, he prefers the gerundive construction.

14. **de . . . pro**: for the distinction between these two words cf. Tac. *Agr.* 26 *securi pro salute de gloria certabant*. — **de quibus . . . agebatur**: Rome had in fact taken possession of Sardinia without opposition, because Carthage was too busy to defend her rights.

15. **ab tergo**: see on 1, 24, 2. — **quas dum** = *ut, dum eas*; cf. § 8 *quem*. — **superant**: plural, in spite of the preceding *hosti*; see on 2, 28, 9. — **Romana**: usually after the noun; here before for emphasis; cf. § 17.

ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet curas, sed identidem hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque Romanum; 17 qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac Romani imperi fore."

1 **42.** Haec apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus, circumdato ad spectaculum exercitu, captivos montanos vinctos in medio statuit, armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum proiectis interrogare interpretem iussit, ecquis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet. 2 Cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent et deiecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum optabat, quem 3 fortuna in id certamen legeret, cuiusque sors exciderat alacer inter gratulantes gaudio exultans cum sui moris 4 tripudiis arma raptim capiebat. Vbi vero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter eiusdem modo condicionis homines erat sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vincentium magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur.

16. corpus: see on 5, 47, 8. — **domesticas** = *privatas*. — **nostras intueri manus**: cf. 1, 25, 1.

17. nostra: in the emphatic position. — **vis virtusque**: for the alliteration see on *Praef.* 12 and cf. 22, 5, 2.

42. 1. circumdato: cf. 1, 28, 3. — **ad spectaculum**: cf. 33, 32, 4. — **in medio**: for the substantive use of the adj. see on 1, 3, 2. — **victor**: *if he should win the fight*; see on 9, 18, 4 *etiam victis*. — **decertare**: *to fight to a finish*; cf. 9, 4, 3 *debellatum*.

2. deiecta: into a helmet, from which they were then drawn (*exciderat*). — **in id**: *for this purpose*; *i.e.* to determine who should fight; cf. 9, 9, 18. — **sors**: used collectively; cf. its use in § 3. — **se . . . eum**: sc. *esse*.

3. cuiusque = *et cuius*. — **cum . . . tripudiis**: cf. 5, 37, 8 and 21, 28, 1.

4. dimicarent: iterative; see on 3, 36, 8. In the preceding sentence the indic. is used with iterative force. — **eiusdem . . . condicionis**: the captives. — **spectantes**: present participles are often used to indicate a momen-

43. Cum sic aliquot spectatis paribus adfectos dimisisset, contione inde advocata ita apud eos locutus fertur: "Si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo ante habuistis, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna vestra habueritis, vicimus, milites; neque enim spectaculum modo illud, sed quaedam veluti imago vestrae condicionis erat. Ac nescio an maiora vincula maioresque necessitates vobis quam captivis vestris fortuna circumdederit; dextra laevaque duo maria claudunt nullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentis; circa Padus, amnis maior ac violentior Rhodano; ab tergo Alpes urgent, vix integris vobis ac vigentibus transitae. Hic vincendum aut moriendum, milites, est, ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna, quae necessitatem pugnandi inposuit, praemia vobis ea victoribus proponit quibus ampliora homines ne ab

tary act or one contemporary with the principal verb, in distinction from verbal nouns in *-or*, which indicate a permanent condition; cf. *Praef.* 4 *legentium*. — **bene morientium**: cf. 9, 3, 3.

43. 1. **sic**: connect with *adfectos*. — **aliquot**: Polyb. 3, 62, 7 mentions only one combat. — **dimisisset . . . advocata**: a new arrangement was necessary for the *contio*.

2. **animum**: see on *Praef.* 11 *in quam civitatem*. — **in . . . exemplo**: *i.e.* in an affair involving the fate of others, which will serve as an example for you; on *exemplo* see on *Praef.* 10. — **quaedam veluti**: introducing a figurative expression, as in 9, 2, 10.

3. **nescio an**: *I don't know but that*, implying, as usual, that it is fairly certain. Livy uses *nescio an* also as an adverb, *probably*; 26, 42, 4 *portum satis amplum quantaevis classi et nescio an unum in Hispaniae ora*.

4. **claudunt**: sc. *vos*. — **ne . . . quidem**: *not even for escape*; much less for battle. — **circa**: on the south and west. The Po, flowing down from the Alps toward the southeast, turns to the east at a point not far west of the mouth of the Ticinus. For this use of *circa* cf. 9, 2, 7; 22, 47, 8. — **vobis**: abl. abs. or dat. of agent; cf. 21, 34, 9 *Hannibali*.

5. **victoribus**: cf. 21, 42, 1 and see on 9, 18, 4. — **dis . . . inmortalibus**: chance offers you what you would not ask even from the gods;

6 dis quidem inmortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tantum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris creptas nostra virtute recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent; *nunc* quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis dominis
7 futurum est. In hanc tam opimam mercedem, agite-
8 dum, dis bene iuvantibus arma capite. Satis adhuc in vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus pecora consectando nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculorum-
9 que vestrorum vidistis; tempus est iam opulenta vos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operae pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas
10 gentes emensos. Hic vobis terminum laborum fortuna dedit; hic dignam mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit.
11 "Nec, quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existimaritis victoriam fore; saepe et contemptus hostis cruentum certamen edidit et incluti populi regesque per-
12 levi momento victi sunt. Nam dempto hoc uno fulgore

there is here an intentional distinction between the two agencies; see on 1, 4, 4.

6. **si Siciliam . . . essemus**: Scipio expresses the same idea in 21, 41, 14. — **nunc**: see on 21, 40, 3. — **possident**: see on 26, 11, 7.

7. **in**: expressing purpose, as in 21, 42, 2. — **agitedum**: see on 2, 29, 11.

8. **satis adhuc**: *long enough.* — **vastis**: *barren;* see on 1, 4, 6. — **consectando**: see on 1, 5, 6 *conparando.*

9. **stipendia facere**: see on 21, 30, 2. — **per**: used here in two different senses; cf. 21, 35, 4.

10. **dignam**: absolute, without dependent noun, *emeritis stipendiis* being taken as abl. abs.; or with *emeritis stipendiis*, in the sense, *worthy of the end of your service; i.e.* the reward to which you are entitled when your service is completed; see 21, 45, 5 ff. — **dabit**: not quite so definite as the preceding *dedit*, and intended to suggest, perhaps, the condition, *if you do your duty.*

11. **nec** = *et ne;* see on 9, 9, 9. — **existimaritis**: for the tense see on 9, 11, 13. — **populi regesque**: the regular way of expressing the idea, republics and monarchies;

nominis Romani quid est cur illi vobis conparandi sint? Vt viginti annorum militiam vestram cum illa virtute, cum 13
illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis columnis, ab Oceano termi-
nisque ultimis terrarum per tot ferocissimos Hispaniae et
Galliae populos vincentes huc pervenistis; pugnabitis 14
cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa aestate caeso, victo, circum-
sesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique ducem.
An me in praetorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope 15
natum, certe eductum, domitorem Hispaniae Galliaeque,
victorem eundem non Alpinarum modo gentium sed ipsa-
rum, quod multo maius est, Alpium, cum semenstri hoc
conferam duce, desertore exercitus sui? cui si quis 16

cf. 45, 8, 5; 23, 33, 1 *reges gentesque*; 42, 50, 5 *regna et imperia*. — **momento**: see on 5, 49, 5.

12. **conparandi**: *comparable*; equivalent to the rare adj. *comparabilis*, which Livy uses in 39, 52, 7. He uses the gerundive in this sense especially in a sentence containing a negative, or a negative idea implied in *vix*; or in a question implying a negative. (Wölfflin)

13. **viginti annorum**: many of the soldiers had served under Hamilcar and Hasdrubal in Spain. — **cum . . . virtute . . . fortuna**: the prepositional phrases take the place of attributive adjectives qualifying *militiam*; cf. 1, 25, 11 *ante se*. — **vincentes**: see on 21, 42, 4 *spectantes*; the participle here suggests an unbroken series of victories.

14. **caeso, victo, circumsesso**: by the Boii and Insubres in northern Italy, who, hearing of Hannibal's approach, had revolted. The apparent anticlimax in the arrangement of these participles may be explained by the fact that Livy is speaking of the inexperience of the army and its commander; it is therefore a real climax, *circumsesso* indicating the highest degree of bad management; cf. 9, 4, 3 *ne victi quidem ac capti*; 26, 13, 8 *trucidati ac . . . castris exuti*. — **ignoranti**: for this abl. form see on 5, 38, 4; cf. the similar statement in Scipio's speech, 21, 40, 4 *novo . . . milites*.

15. **praetorio patris**: according to Polybius; but see on 21, 4, 1. — **sed**: the omission of *etiam* increases the emphasis upon the second member; cf. 21, 41, 16. — **semenstri**: Scipio had been consul since March 15th; it was now probably the latter part of October. — **desertore**: see on 21, 39; an absurd violation of the truth.

(demptis signis) Poenos Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum certum habeo, utrius exercitus sit consul. Non ego illud parvi aestimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum, cuius non ante oculos ipse saepe militare aliquod ediderim facinus, cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora. Cum laudatis a me ~~milens~~ donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam *in* aciem adversus ignotos inter se ignorantesque.

44. "Quocumque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, generosissimarum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, vos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos, Carthaginienses, cum *pro*

16. signis: the standards of the maniples. The fact that the equipment of the two armies was entirely different is overlooked; it was only after the battles of Trebia and Trasumennus that the Carthaginians appeared with Roman arms; see 22, 46, 4. — **certum habeo**: cf. 22, 3, 1. — **consul**: not *dux*. A weak point in the Roman military system was the fact that whoever happened to be consul, — a man perhaps of no military experience, — was commander of the army; 24, 8, 7 *cum, qui est summus in civitate dux, eum legerimus, tamen repente lectus, in annum creatus adversus veterem ac perpetuum imperatorem conparabitur, nullis neque temporis nec iuris inclusum angustiis, quo minus ita omnia gerat administretque, ut tempora postulabunt belli.*

17. idem: agreeing with *ego*; cf. § 15 *eundem* and see on 7, 2, 8. — **testis**: cf. 27, 14, 4 *Marcellus mediam aciem hortator testisque praesens firmabat.* — **temporibus locisque**: abl. of specification.

18. inter se: cf. 22, 4, 6.

44. 1. animorum: see on 1, 25, 3. — **peditem**: in 21, 22, 2 f. Livy mentions as infantry in Hannibal's army Africans, Ligurians, and Baliares; as cavalry, Libyphoenicians, Numidians, Moors, and Ilergetes. — **infrenatos**: used only here in classical Latin in this sense, taking the place of the adj. *infrenus*. The Spaniards rode with bridles, the Numidians without them; cf. 21, 46, 5. Herodian 7, 9 οἱ Νομάδες . . . ἱππεῖς ἄριστοι, ὡς καὶ χαλινῶν ἄνευ ῥάβδῳ μόνῃ τὸν δρόμον τῶν ἵππων κυβερνᾶν.

2. socios: all except the Carthaginians.

patria tum ob iram iustissimam pugnaturos. Inferimus 3
bellum infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam, tanto
audacius fortiusque pugnaturi quam hostis, quanto maior
spes, maior est animus inferentis vim quam arcentis.
Accendit praeterea et stimulat animos dolor, iniuria, in- 4
dignitas. Ad supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum,
deinde vos omnes, qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos
ultimis cruciatibus adfecturi fuerunt. Crudelissima ac 5
superbissima gens sua omnia suique arbitri facit. Cum
quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum
inponere aecum censet. Circumscribit includitque nos
terminis montium fluminumque, quos non excedamus,
neque eos, quos statuit, terminos observat. 'Ne transieris 6

3. **inferimus bellum**: cf. 21, 1, 3 *inferrent arma*. — **quanto . . . arcentis**: cf. 28, 44, 2 *plus animi est inferenti periculum quam propulsanti*. The truth of the statement is questionable.

4. **dolor, iniuria, indignitas**: *wrath and a sense of injury and insult*; the first is subjective, the two others objective. Livy uses *indignitas* rarely in a subjective sense, *indignation*; 7, 7, 2 *plenis irae atque indignitatis*. — **vos omnes**: see on 21, 30, 3. — **qui . . . oppugnassetis**: *because you had besieged Saguntum*; the reason given by the Romans. — **ultimis**: cf. 21, 41, 11. — **adfecturi fuerunt**: for this periphrastic form of the apodosis see on 2, 1, 3; *deditos* is the protasis.

5. **sua . . . suique arbitri**: for a similar combination of adj. and gen. modifiers see 21, 29, 4 *incruentam . . . certaminis. arbitri* is poss. gen.; see on 1, 6, 4 *tutelae*. — **cum quibus . . . habeamus**: by the terms of the treaty made at the end of the First Punic War, Carthage was forbidden to make war upon or form alliance with the allies of Rome; Hannibal refers particularly, however, to Saguntum, whose independence was secured by the treaty which Hasdrubal had made with Rome. — **circumscribit . . . fluminumque**: another exaggeration; the Ebro was the only boundary of this sort, and that was fixed by mutual agreement between Hasdrubal and Rome. Saguntum, though nominally within Carthaginian territory, was to be independent; see § 6. — **neque**: see on 3, 46, 1.

6. **transieris . . . sit**: there is

Hiberum! ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis!' At liberum est Saguntum. 'Nusquam te vestigio moveris!'
7 Parum est quod veterrimas provincias meas Siciliam ac Sardiniam *ademisti?* Adimis etiam Hispanias? et, inde *si de*cessero, in Africam transcendes? *transcendes* autem? transcendisse dicō; duos consules huius anni, unum in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil usquam
8 nobis relictum est, nisi quod armis vindicarimus. Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet qui respectum habent, quos sua terra, suus ager per tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipient; vobis necesse est fortibus viris esse et omnibus inter victoriam mortemve certa desperatione abruptis aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubitabit, in proelio potius
9 quam in fuga mortem oppetere. Si hoc bene fixum omnibus destinatumque animo est, iterum dicam, vicistis; nullum contemptu *mortis telu*m ad vincendum homini ab dis inmortalibus acrius datum est."

1 45. His adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum iungunt

no distinction of time; see on 9, 11, 13. — **at**: introducing the objection of the Carthaginian.

7. **Hispanias**: the plural referring to the natural divisions of Spain south of the Ebro. — **transcendisse**: not literally true, but explained in the next sentence. Sempronius had gone to Sicily, intending to cross to Africa, but was recalled to aid Scipio against Hannibal.

8. **illis**: the Romans. — **timidis**: for the case cf. 3, 50, 6; 9, 4, 9. — **respectum**: a place of refuge behind them; the verb is used in the same sense in 27, 12, 3 *nec quod fidum respiceret habenti*; for a different meaning of the noun see 2, 30, 2. — **viris esse**: this dat. construction is not found elsewhere with *necesse est*, and is no doubt due to the preceding common construction with *licet*. — **mortemve**: the use of the disjunctive is prompted by the thought, "You must either conquer or die." — **dubitabit**: *waver; i.e.* be not absolutely on your side.

9. **destinatum animo**: cf. 27, 47, 9.

45. 1. **ponte**: a floating bridge

tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper inponunt; Poenus 2
hostibus opere occupatis Maharbalem cum ala Numidarum,
equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Ro-
mani agros mittit; Gallis parci quam maxime iubet princi- 3
pumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto
traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque
milia passuum a Victumulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra 4
habebat; revocatoque propere Maharbale atque equitibus,
cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil umquam satis dictum
praemonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad
contionem certa praemia pronuntiat, in quorum spem
pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, 5
Hispania, ubi quisque velit, inmunem ipsi qui accepisset
liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset, ei se

of rafts, according to 21, 47, 2. — **Ticinum iungunt**: a common expression for *fluminis ripas iungere*. The Ticinus is a river of Transpadane Gaul, flowing into the Po about 25 miles west of Placentia. — **insuper**: at the eastern end of the bridge; cf. the meaning of *super* in 1, 2, 6.

2. **quingentis**: see on 21, 29, 1. — **sociorum**: as these are distinguished from the Gauls, they are perhaps the Laevi, who, according to 5, 35, 2, were *Ligures incolentes circa Ticinum*.

3. **Insubrium**: living at this time, it appears, on the west side of the Ticinus, on land afterwards occupied by the Libui. — **Victumulis**: evidently located not far from the junction of the Ticinus and the Po; Polyb. 10, 3, 4 says the battle was *περὶ τὸν Πάδον*; Flor. 1, 22, 10 *inter Padum et Ticinum*; Val. Max. 5, 4, 2 *apud Ticinum*. Polyb. 3, 65, 1 represents the two armies as approaching each other on the northern bank of the Po, the Romans marching toward the west, the Carthaginians toward the east.

4. **vocatis**: dative. — **certa**: contrasted with the general promises of 21, 43, 6 ff. — **in quorum spem**: there is confusion between the hope itself and the fulfillment of the hope; cf. 5, 30, 8 *vellentque in eam spem liberos tollere*.

5. **velit**: for the tense see on 3, 50, 7 *sit* — **inmunem**: *free from taxation*. — **ipsi qui**: for the omission of *ei* cf. 9, 5, 13. — **liberis**: he does not promise exemption beyond the next generation.

6 argento satisfacturum; qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos redire mallent, daturum se operam, ne cuius suorum popularium mutatam 7 secum fortunam esse vellent. Servis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit, binaque pro iis mancipia domi- 8 nis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum laeva manu, dextra silicem retinens, si falleret, Iovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent, quem ad modum ipse agnum mactasset, secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo 9 elisit. Tum vero omnes, velut dis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis, id morae, quod nondum pugnarent, ad potienda sperata rati, proelium uno animo et voce una poscunt.

1 **46.** Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, 2 super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis; nam et

6. **ne . . . vellent**: *that they might not wish to change lots with any of their countrymen;* for *secum* = *with their own*, see on 9, 10, 3 *eum*.

8. **retinens**: properly used only with *agnum; tenens* would be more appropriate with *silicem*. — **si falleret**: *if he should not fulfill his promises;* the verb is often used absolutely, and it is unnecessary to supply an object. — **Iovem**: Livy makes him invoke a Roman god; the corresponding Carthaginian deity would have been Baal. This prayer is somewhat inconsistent with 21, 4, 9 *nihil sancti*. — **secundum**: *immediately after*. — **precationem**: *imprecation;* cf. 9, 5, 3.

9. **velut . . . acceptis**: *as if each man had taken the gods as sureties for his hope;* Livy uses the abl. abs. with *velut* frequently in this sense; cf. 1, 29, 4; see also for a similar use of *velut*, though not with the abl., 1, 4, 5 and 1, 16, 2. *quisque*, in partitive app. with *omnes*, is made by its position the logical subject of the ablative absolute. — **id**: *only that;* cf. 21, 4, 7. — **quod . . . pugnarent**: in app. with *id*. — **sperata**: by using this word Livy avoids a repetition of the noun and expresses the idea in more concrete form.

46. 1. **super cetera . . . etiam**: cf. 22, 6, 11. *super* is stronger than *praeter*, and the meaning is, *terrified by other things, but above all by prodigies*. *prodigia* were unnatural conditions or incidents

lupus intraverat castra laniatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, *et* examen apum in arbore praetorio inminente consederat. Quibus procuratis Scipio cum equitatu iaculatoribusque expeditis profectus ad castra hostium ex propinquo copias*que*, quantae et cuius generis essent, speculandas, obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca progresso. Neutri alteros primo cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum, equorum oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen et *ad* proelium sese expediebant. Scipio iaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque

which were thought to indicate the displeasure of the gods. Favor could be regained by means of offerings or ceremonies. If the prodigy occurred on private property, the owner or occupant only was concerned; if on public property, the state was thought to be threatened and took action to avert the danger. From 218 on Livy gives the prodigies regularly; in the period covered by the earlier extant books, they had probably not been systematically recorded and were therefore not available for the historian. Polybius omits them entirely.

2. **lupus**: the mere appearance of a wolf was regarded as a bad omen. — **obviis**: for this rare substantive use cf. 22, 7, 11. — **examen apum**: mentioned elsewhere as of evil omen. On this occasion perhaps the wolf and the bees were regarded as emblematic of Hannibal and his army. (Wölfflin)

3. **quibus procuratis**: *when these bad omens had been averted*; *procurare* is used technically in this sense, referring to the ceremonies performed on such occasions. — **expeditis**: as all *iaculatores* were *expediti*, this is either a pleonasm or the adj. is to be applied to *equitatu* as well as to *iaculatoribus*. — **speculandas**: connect with *castra* and *copias*. — **circa**: see on 21, 36, 1.

4. **cernebant . . . fuit. consistit . . . expediebant**: note the change in tense to contrast the instantaneous and completed act with the progressive. — **hominum, equorum**: for the asyndeton see on 5, 48, 6. — **propinquantium**: the uncompounded verb is very rarely used in prose. — **expediebant**: see on 22, 4, 7; for the plural with *agmen* see on 21, 27, 9 *nantes*.

5. **sociorumque**: a contrast between *Galli* and *socii*, as in 21, 45,

quod roboris fuit, in subsidiis; Hannibal frenatos equites
6 in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore sublato iaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu anceps; dein, quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suos premi circumventos vidissent, iam magna ex parte ad *pe*des pugna
7 venerat, donec Numidae, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit Romanos, auxitque pavorem consulis vulnus periculumque in-
8 tercursu tum primum pubescentis fili *pro*pulsatum. Hic erit iuvenis penes quem perfecti huiusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Poenisque

2 and 3. — **in subsidiis**: in the rear as a reserve. That this was really the main body and that the *iaculatores* and *Galli equites* were only skirmishers is clear from § 6 *inter . . . aciem*. — **frenatos . . . Numidis**: see on 21, 44, 1. For the use of the instrumental abl. *Numidis* cf. 2, 44, 12 *suo milite vinci Romam posse*; also 22, 3, 9 and 27, 46, 3. — **firmat**: not *strengthens*, but *forms strongly*; cf. 9, 3, 10; 22, 46, 3.

6. **inter . . . aciem**: *between the bodies of reserves which formed the second line*; the second phrase is explanatory of the first. — **pedites**: the *iaculatores*. — **labentibus . . . desilientibus**: the first statement is explained by *quia . . . intermixti*, the second by *ubi . . . vidissent*. — **vidissent**: for the mood see on 3, 36, 8. — **ad pedes . . . venerat**: cf. 22, 47, 3; for the phrase *ad pedes* cf. 22, 49, 3 and 2, 46, 3 *pugna iam in manus, iam ad gladios . . . venerat*.

7. **donec**: sc. *and continued*. — **is pavor**: *fear of this*, *i.e.* of being surrounded; cf. 26, 13, 1; 3, 34, 7 *ea expectatio*. This use of a demonstrative adj. instead of an obj. gen. is common in Livy. — **intercursu . . . propulsatum**: this element, thus closely connected with *periculum* and subordinated to it, contains a statement of such importance that it would much better have been expressed in a relative or even independent clause. On *intercursu* see on 21, 35, 1. — **pubescentis**: Polyb. 10, 3, 4 says he was in his seventeenth year; cf. Livy 38, 51, 11.

8. **Africanus**: 30, 45, 6 f. *Afri-*

appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa iaculatorum maxime fuit, 9
quos primos Numidae invaserunt; alius confertus equitatus
consulem in medium acceptum non armis modo sed etiam
corporibus suis protegens in castra nusquam trepide neque
effuse cedendo reduxit. Servati consulis decus Coelius ad 10
servum natione Ligurem delegat; malim equidem de filio
verum esse quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama
obtinuit.

BOOK XXII

Battle of Lake Trasumennus

3. Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis cum tan- 1
dem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, 217 B.C.

cani cognomen militaris prius favor an popularis aura celebraverit an, sicuti Felicis Sullae Magnique Pompei patrum memoria, coeptum ab adsentatione familiari sit, parum compertum habeo. Primus certe hic imperator nomine victae ab se gentis est nobilitatus. — **de Hannibale**: see on 21, 37, 5 *prope silvas*, and for the use of *de* cf. 38, 51, 14 *triumphans de Syphace.*

9. **tamen**: going back to § 7. — **maxime**: qualifying *iaculatorum*; cf. 5, 40, 5. — **primos**: because they had taken refuge behind the cavalry. — **alius . . . equitatus**: *the rest of the cavalry* (cf. 21, 27, 6), those who did not participate in the flight of the *iaculatores*; that some did flee is indicated by *maxime*. Or, *alius* may be explained as in 21, 27, 5, *the other troops*, i.e. *the cavalry*.

10. **servati consulis**: see on 1, 3, 4 *coloniam deductam*, and cf. 21, 1, 5 *Sicilia . . . amissae*. — **Coelius**: see *Introd.* § 4. — **plures . . . auctores**: Polyb. 10, 3, 2 is one of these, quoting Laelius, the friend of Scipio, as his authority. — **fama obtinuit**: see on 1, 4, 6 *tenet fama*; as the verb is intrans., *quod*, the object of *tradidere*, can be used with it only adverbially; cf. 23, 16, 15 *quod quidam auctores sunt.*

Book XXII. **3–7**. References: Polyb. 3, 80–85. Plut. *Fab.* 2 f. Sil. Ital. 5. Ihne, 2, 203–210. Mommsen, 2, 276–279. Arnold, *Second Punic War*, 39–46. Dodge, *Hannibal*, 298–305.

3. 1. de paludibus: Livy uses *de* with *emergere* only here; elsewhere *ex*. He uses *de* also with

castra locat; certumque per praemissos exploratores habuit
2 exercitum Romanum circa Arreti moenia esse. Consulis deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum itineraque et copias ad commeatus expediendos et cetera quae cognosse in rem erat summa omnia cum cura inquirendo exse-
3 quebatur. Regio erat in primis Italiae fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Faesulas inter Arretiumque iacent, frumenti ac
4 pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti; consul ferox ab consulatu priore et non modo legum aut patrum maiestatis sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens. Hanc insitam in-

other compounds of *ex*, *e.g.* 21, 48, 6 *emittere*; 41, 27, 2 *eicio*. In the spring of 217 Hannibal set out from his winter quarters in Liguria and crossed the Apennines into Etruria. The march was exceedingly difficult and dangerous, as, according to Livy, the country had been inundated by an overflow of the Arno. — **in sicco**: for the substantive use of the adj. see on 1, 3, 2. — **castra locat**: near Faesulae. — **certum . . . habuit**: cf. 21, 43, 16; 9, 1, 11 *pro certo habete*. — **Arreti**: about forty miles southeast of Faesulae, on the Via Cassia.

2. **consulis**: C. Flaminius, leader of the popular party, who, fearing that his election as consul might be annulled by the senate, had entered upon his year of office at Ariminum instead of at Rome. From there he had proceeded to Arretium, to intercept Hannibal. — **animum**: *disposition*. — **situm regionum**: *the geography of the region*. — **copias**: *facilities*. — **in rem**: *to the purpose*. — **inquirendo exsequebatur**: cf. 9, 3, 11 *percunctando exsequerentur*.

3. **primis**: sc. *regionibus*, upon which *Italiae* depends. — **Faesulas inter**: except with relatives this position of the prep. is rare before Tacitus. — §§ 3 and 4 treat in reverse order the two thoughts of § 2.

4. **ab consulatu**: temporal and causal; see on 1, 1, 4. He was consul for the first time in 223 and conducted the war against the Insubrian Gauls. Just as he was preparing for an important battle, a message came from the senate ordering him to return to Rome; but, suspecting its contents, he left it unread, fought the battle, and won a victory. Hence, *ferox . . . maiestatis*. — **non modo**: see on 2, 23, 14. — **legum metuens**: a rare construction, found almost exclusively in poetry and post-Augustan prose. — **ne deorum . . .**

genio eius temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis adparebat nec deos 5
nec homines consulentem ferociter omnia ac praepropere acturum. Quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque inritare Poenus parat; et laeva relicto hoste Faesulas 6
petens medio Etruriae agro praedatum profectus quantam maximam vastitatem potest caedibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste 7
ipse quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per mediam iam Italiam vagari Poenum atque obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana moenia ire oppugnanda, ceteris om- 8
nibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus, collegam expectandum, ut coniunctis exercitibus

metuens: he had not performed the usual religious rites at the beginning of his consulship, and could not properly take the auspices. — **prospero . . . successu**: cf. *Praef.* 13. — **civilibus**: as early as 232, when he was a tribune, he had won a victory over the senate, by causing the passage of a law authorizing the distribution of Gallic lands among the plebeians. Besides being twice consul, he was censor in 220, when he constructed the Circus Flaminius and the Via Flaminia.

6. **Faesulas petens**: a geographical blunder; passing Flaminius on his left, Hannibal was marching toward the south, and Livy must therefore have supposed Faesulae to be south of Arretium. This would explain his statement in § 3 regarding the fertility of the district between Faesulae and Arretium. See on 9, 19, 4 *Thuriis*. — **agro**: connected either with *petens* as an abl. of the road, or with *praedatum* as an abl. of place. — **quantam maximam**: see on 9, 10, 10.

7. **Flaminius**: subject of *proripuit* in § 9. — **quieturus erat**: for this form of non-occurrent apodosis cf. 2, 1, 3; for the protasis, *quieto . . . hoste*, cf. 3, 35, 2 *relicto*. — **tum**: see on 21, 34, 8. — **suum**: note the emphatic position. — **mediam iam Italiam**: *homoeoteleyton*, usually avoided by Livy; see on 5, 46, 3; for an intentional case see 2, 29, 9.

8. **in consilio**: composed of the legates, tribunes, and *primi pili*. — **collegam expectandum**: Servilius

communi animo consilioque rem gererent; interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohibendum; iratus se ex consilio proripuit signumque simul itineris pugnaeque cum *proposuisset*, "Immo Arreti ante moenia sedeamus" inquit; "hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopulētur Italiam vastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana moēnia perveniat, nec ante nos hinc moverimus quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veis, C. Flaminium ab Arretio patres acciverint." Haec simul increpans cum ocius signa convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus repente conruit consulemque lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus qui circa erant velut foedo omine incipiendae rei, insuper

had taken a position at Ariminum, in order to intercept Hannibal, if the latter should follow the Via Flaminia. By this time, it is probable that he had already set out to join his colleague. Flaminius was justified in not following the advice of his officers; for there was danger in allowing Hannibal to get so far away from him and nearer to Rome, and Servilius, on the march, might be attacked while alone and in an unfavorable position.

9. **equitatu auxiliisque**: either dat. of agent (for the form of *equitatu* see on 7, 2, 7) or an instrumental abl.; see on 21, 46, 5. — **signum . . . proposuisset**: cf. 22, 45, 5; the signal for the march was given on the *tuba*, that for battle by a red flag on the general's tent. In the present case the latter signal meant that they should be ready for battle as soon as they met the enemy.

10. **immo**: ironically correcting the proposal of the officers and ridiculing it by exaggeration. — **sedeamus**: cf. 22, 24, 10 *artibus Fabi, sedendo et cunctando, bellum gerebat*. — **patria et penates**: see on *Praef.* 12. — **nec** = *et ne*; cf. 9, 9, 9; 21, 43, 11. — **Camillum**: see on 5, 46, 11; cf. 9, 4, 14. — **ab Veiis**: for this use of the prep. see on 1, 27, 4. — **acciverint**: future perfect.

11. **haec**: acc. of kindred meaning; cf. 3, 47, 4 *querente pauca*. — **ocius**: the comparative appears to have here, as occasionally elsewhere, the sense of the unused positive; though it may mean *more quickly than they had begun to do it*. — **signa convelli**: see on 3, 50, 11.

12. **circa**: for this adjective use

nuntiatur signum omni vi moliente signifero convelli nequire. Conversus ad nuntium "Num litteras quoque" 13
inquit "ab senatu adfers, quae me rem gerere vetent? Abi, nuntia effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus prae metu obtorpuerint." Incedere inde agmen coepit primori- 14
bus, superquam quod dissenserant ab consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus laeto ferocia ducis, cum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

4. Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasu- 1
mennumque lacum omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum iniurias acuat. Et iam 2
pervenerat ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit. Via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad *id* ipsum de industria relicto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles insurgunt. Ibi 3
castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque

see on 21, 36, 1. — **velut**: *as;* not *as if;* introducing the actual belief of the bystanders, not an expression of doubt on the part of Livy or a mere comparison.

13. **num litteras . . . vetent**: see on § 4 *ab consulatu.* — **abi, nuntia effodiant**: cf. 22, 49, 10; with asyndeton as usual; cf. 1, 16, 7. — **prae**: see on 1, 29, 3.

14. **superquam quod**: cf. 22, 7, 4 *praeterquam quod;* Livy often uses *super* in the sense of *praeter*, but see on 21, 46, 1. — **in vulgus**: *in general.*

4. 1. **inter . . . lacum**: a distance of about seven miles only, but the statement is not to be understood as exact; he no doubt devastated also the valley of the Clanis, west of Cortona and the lake. — **hosti**: see on 1, 5, 6 *Numitori.*

2. **nata insidiis**: cf. 9, 2, 7; 22, 28, 6 *ager . . . natus tegendis insidiis;* used with *in* in 5, 37, 8 and with *ad* in 22, 44, 4. — **maxime** = *proxime.* — **via**: at the northwest corner of the lake. — **ad id ipsum**: cf. 21, 37, 1. — **deinde**: after the narrow road was passed. — **inde**: at the eastern end of the *campus*. There was also there a narrow passage between the hills and the lake. Compare the geography of the Caudine Pass, 9, 2, 7 f.

3. **ibi**: not on the hills, but referring generally to the locality just described. — **in aperto**: opposed to *insidiae* in § 4; for the

consideret; Baliares ceteramque levem armaturam post montis circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus tumulis apte tegentibus locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, obiecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

4 Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum satis certa luce angustiis superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum pandi agmen coepit, id tantum hostium quod ex adverso erat conspexit;
5 ab tergo ac super caput *haud* detectae insidiae. Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul
6 invadendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque inprovisa res fuit,

substantive use of the adj. cf. 22, 3, 1 *in sicco*. He encamped on the hill which projected from the north toward the middle of the plain. — **modo**: including, however, the larger part of the army, — all but the light-armed troops and the cavalry. — **levem armaturam**: cf. 27, 48, 1; abstract for concrete, as in 3, 47, 1. — **post montis**: on the east; the *colles* of § 2. — **fauces**: on the west; above the *via angusta* of § 2. — **apte**: *conveniently*.

4. **cum**: concessive; *i.e.* though he had arrived so late that no careful examination of the locality was possible, he nevertheless set out in the morning without reconnoitering. — **inexplorato**: a remarkable and inexcusable omission, as he knew that Hannibal was in the neighborhood. — **postero die**: Ovid, *Fasti*, 6, 768 gives the date of the battle, but the reading of the passage is doubtful and it may only be said that it occurred between the 22d and the 27th of June. — **angustiis**: the *via angusta* of § 2. — **pandi**: see on 3, 35, 6 *vulgari*; for the active *coepit* see on 2, 29, 6; Livy regularly uses *coeptum est* with a pass. inf. even when, as here, the latter may be regarded as in the middle voice. — **ex adverso**: see on 1, 24, 2 *unde*; *i.e.* on the hill which, extending into the plain, was nearly opposite the entrance. — **ab tergo**: the cavalry. — **super caput**: the light-armed troops.

5. **invadendi**: with *signum dare* Livy uses either gen. or dat.; but, if the dependent word is a gerund, either the gen. or *ad*. (H. J. Mueller.) Cf. 21, 27, 7.

6. **proximum fuit**: see on 5,

quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Ro- 7
manus, clamore prius undique orto quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent.

5. Consul perculsis omnibus ipse satis, ut in *re* trepida, 1
inpavidus turbatos ordines, vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores, instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur, et, quacumque adire audirique potest, adhortatur ac stare ac pugnare iubet: nec enim inde votis aut inploratione deum sed vi ac 2

46, 9. — **campo**: without the prep. as often in Livy; see on 1, 4, 4 *aqua* and cf. 5, 41, 2. — **densior**: for the position of the comparative after *quam* cf. 9, 7, 4. — **sederat**: from the poetical verb *sido;* the common prose verb is *consido*. — **inter se**: cf. 21, 43, 18. — **conspecta**: *visible;* cf. 30, 29, 10. — **eoque**: the conjunction connects *conspecta* and *pariter*.

7. **Romanus . . . sensit**: *shouts* (of the enemy) *were raised on all sides before the Romans could see clearly, and they realized that they were surrounded*. — **cerneret**: either used without object and explained by § 4 *vixdum . . . luce* and § 6 *nebula . . . sederat*, or sc. *se circumventum esse*. — **in frontem lateraque**: the Romans faced north to repel the attack of the heavy infantry, — the only part of the enemy's forces which they could see, — and were thus attacked on the flanks by the light infantry and the cavalry. — **instrueretur**: the Romans had of course entered the pass in marching order, and it must have been almost impossible under the circumstances to form a line of battle; Polyb. 3, 85, 4 *συνέβη τοὺς πλείστους ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς πορείας σχήματι κατακοπῆναι*. — **expediri**: the shield taken from the left shoulder, the helmet from its fastenings on the right shoulder, etc.; cf. 21, 46, 4. Caes. *B.G.* 2, 21, 5 *ut non modo ad insignia adcommodanda, sed etiam ad galeas induendas scutisque tegimenta detrahenda tempus defuerit*.

5. 1. **satis**: for the meaning cf. 5, 46, 3. — **ut . . . trepida**: a restriction of *inpavidus;* see on 5, 41, 1, where there is also a similar use of *res* = *situation*.

2. **vi ac virtute**: see on 21, 41, 17. — **fieri**: a general statement.

virtute evadendum esse; per medias acies ferro viam fieri et, quo timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse."
3 Ceterum prae strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat, tantumque aberat ut sua signa atque ordines et locum noscerent, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae competeret animus opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis iis quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine
4 maior usus aurium quam oculorum. Ad gemitus vulnerum ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos terrentium pa-
5 ventiumque clamores circumferebant ora oculosque. Alii fugientes pugnantium globo inlati haerebant, alios redeun-
6 tes in pugnam avertebat fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnis partis nequiquam impetus capti et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebant adparuitque nullam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis
7 spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non illa

— **quo . . . esse**: Sall. *Jug.* 87, 2 *fortissimum quemque tutissimum*; Hor. *Od.* 3, 2, 14 *mors et fugacem persequitur virum*; Curt. Ruf. 4, 14, 25 *effugit mortem, quisquis contempserit; timidissimum quemque consequitur*. — **ferme**: *usually*.

3. **tantumque aberat ut . . . ut**: the first *ut* clause is the subject of *aberat*, the second a clause of result. — **signa**: maniples; **ordines**: centuries (cf. 2, 23, 4); **locum**: the position of the individual; cf. § 7. On the manipular organization see on 9, 19, 8. — **capienda**: cf. 22, 4, 7 *expediri*. — **pugnae**: dat. of purpose; cf. 5, 49, 3, where, with the same phrase, it is omitted.

4. **vulnerum**: obj. gen. as in 8, 29, 13 *vulnerum ira*; Am. Marc. 29, 5, 12 *inter gemitus mortis et vulnerum*; Verg. *Aen.* 2, 784 *lacrimas dilectae Creusae*.

6. **capti**: see on 9, 4, 1; cf. 5, 38, 3 *impetum darent*. The phrase indicates an unusually strenuous charge or one made necessary by circumstances. — **ab lateribus**: see on 1, 24, 2 *unde*. It is evident that the main body of the Romans was now facing east (cf. 22, 4, 7 *in frontem lateraque*) and seeking escape in that direction. — **claudebant**: used absolutely; cf. 21, 43, 4, where, however, an object is more easily supplied.

ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset; fors conglobabat et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat; tantusque fuit ardor animorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut eum motum terrae, qui multarum urbium Italiae magnas partes prostravit avertitque cursu rapidos amnis, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit. 8

6. Tris ferme horas pugnatum est et ubique atrociter; 1
circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est. Eum 2
et robora virorum sequebantur et ipse, quacumque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, inpigre ferebat opem; insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant et tue- 3

7. **nova de integro**: a more remarkable example of pleonasm is 37, 19, 5 *instauremus novum de integro bellum*; cf. *Praef.* 12. The battle had not ceased; it was only taking on a new character. — **per . . . triarios**: the *hastati* at this time stood regularly in front of the *principes*. — **nec ut** = *nec ita ordinata ut*. — **antesignani**: *hastati* and *principes*; in battle the standards were with the *triarii*; see on 27, 47, 8 and cf. 27, 48, 10. — **alia**: see on 21, 27, 6. — **cohorte**: an anachronism, as the cohort, consisting of three maniples, was not organized till the time of Marius; before this the name was applied to bodies of allied troops, but it is not used here in that sense; Livy is thinking of the later organization.

8. **animus . . . animorum . . . animus**: this double repetition is a sort of carelessness of which Livy is not often guilty; the plural refers to the individuals, the singular (*intentus . . . animus*) is used collectively. — **post**: for this adverbial use cf. 21, 34, 5. — **fluminibus**: the usual construction with *invehere* is the acc. with or without *in*. — **senserit**: for the tense see on 1, 3, 4 *ausi sint*.

6. 2. **eum**: it was evidently Livy's intention to make this the object of two verbs, *sequebantur* and *petebant*; the sentence is interrupted by the insertion of *et ipse . . . opem*. For a similarly peculiar structure cf. 39, 40, 9 *simultates*; 40, 56, 3 *cui*.

3. **insignem**: explanatory of *petebant* only, not of *tuebantur*. —

bantur cives, donec Insuber eques — Ducario nomen erat — facie quoque noscitans consulem "*En*" inquit "hic est," popularibus suis "qui legiones nostras cecidit agros-
4 que et urbem est depopulatus! Iam ego hanc victimam Manibus peremptorum foede civium dabo." Subditisque calcaribus equo per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam obiecerat, consulem lancea transfixit; spoliare
5 cupientem triarii obiectis scutis arcuere. Magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit; et iam nec lacus nec montes pavori obstabant; per omnia arta praeruptaque velut caeci evadunt, armaque et viri super alios alii praecipitantur.
6 Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus umeris*que* extare possunt, sese inmergunt. Fuere quos inconsultus pavor nando
7 etiam capessere fugam inpulerit, quae ubi inmensa ac sine

Ducario: dat.; see on 1, 1, 3 *Troiano*. — **noscitans**: he had probably seen Flaminius in the Gallic campaign of 223, to which his words refer; see on 22, 3, 4. — **popularibus suis**: the separation from *inquit* is peculiar, but a similar arrangement is found elsewhere; *e.g.* 5, 18, 5 "*en vobis*" *inquit* "*iuvenem*," *filium tenens*. — **legiones**: used loosely of the divisions of a foreign army, as in 27, 51, 8; cf. the use of *legio* = *army* in 1, 27, 5. — **urbem**: the chief city of the Insubres was Mediolanum, which was taken by the Romans in 222.

4. **Manibus . . . dabo**: cf. 1, 25, 12. — **armigero**: a word found almost exclusively in poetry. — **consulem . . . transfixit**: Hannibal probably exaggerates the fact in 23, 45, 8 *ubi ille miles meus est, qui derepto ex equo C. Flaminio consuli caput abstulit?* — **triarii**: the *robora virorum* of § 2; cf. 8, 8, 8 *triarios ducebat, veteranum militem spectatae virtutis*.

5. **magnae partis**: all but the *sex milia* of § 8. — **nec lacus nec montes**: the thought is continued chiastically in the following sentences. — **per omnia**: cf. 21, 35, 7. — **evadunt**: *they tried to escape*. — **alios alii**: the sing. *alium alius* would have been more usual, but cf. 21, 35, 12.

6. **capessere**: the inf. with *inpello* is a construction of poetry and late prose; with other verbs

spe erat, aut deficientibus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus aut nequiquam fessi vada retro aegerrime repetebant atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. Sex milia ferme primi agminis per adversos hostes 8
eruptione inpigre facta, ignari omnium quae post se agerentur e saltu evasere, et cum in tumulo quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset neque scire nec perspicere prae caligine poterant. Inclinata denique re cum incalescente sole 9
dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere foede Romanam aciem. Itaque, ne in conspectos procul inmit- 10
teretur eques, sublatis raptim signis quam citatissimo poterant agmine sese abripuerunt. Postero die, cum super 11
cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt; quae Punica 12

also Livy uses the inf. instead of the more common *ut* clause; *e.g.* 21, 41, 9 *dare pactus est.*

7. **inmensa**: *impossible*; literally, *unlimited.* The lake is eight to fourteen miles wide and about thirty miles in circuit. There are, however, two islands only a little more than a mile from the battle-field. — **animis**: *courage*, not *breath*; the plural of *anima* is apparently not used in that sense.

8. **primi agminis**: those marching in front. — **agerentur**: for the subj. see on 3, 36, 8. — **saltu**: the narrow passage on the east between the hills and the lake, above which the light-armed troops had been stationed.

9. **inclinata . . . re**: *the battle having been decided.* — **dispulsa nebula**: see on 21, 1, 5 *Sicilia . . . amissae.*

10. **in conspectos** = *in se, si conspecti essent*; cf. 22, 3, 7 *quieto.*

11. **super cetera**: see on 21, 46, 1. — **Maharbale**: one of Hannibal's most distinguished officers, mentioned in 21, 45, 2 and 22, 46, 7. — **cum singulis vestimentis**: *with only their tunics*, as in 9, 4, 3; App. *Hann.* 10 uses the word γυμνούς.

religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes coniecti.

7. Haec est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim milia Romanorum in acie caesa; decem milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam diversis itineribus urbem petiere; duo milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea [utrimque] ex vulneribus periere. Multiplex caedes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis; ego, praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium, aequalem temporibus huiusce belli, potissimum auctorem habui. Hannibal captivorum qui Latini nominis

12. **religione**: for the meaning see on 21, 4, 9; *Punica fides* is the usual phrase, but here *fides* follows immediately in a different sense. According to Polyb. 3, 85, 2 Hannibal maintained that Maharbal had no authority to make such a promise. — **omnes**: see, however, 22, 7, 5.

7. 1. **nobilis**: for the meaning cf. 9, 1, 1. — **inter paucas**: Livy does not mean that there have been few disasters, but that few have been comparable with this; see on 30, 30, 23. — **memorata**: *memorable*; see on 24, 34, 9 *intacti*.

2. **quindecim milia**: Polyb. 3. 84, 9 ff. says that 15,000 were killed in the valley, and that others, caught in the very entrance of the pass, perished while trying to escape; App. *Hann.* 10 gives a total of 20,000. Polybius mentions 15,000 Roman prisoners, Livy only the 6000 of 22, 6, 7.

3. **duo milia quingenti**: Polyb. 3, 85, 5 says that Hannibal's loss was 1500, mostly Gauls. — **multiplex**: *much greater*.

4. **ex vano**: *without reason*; see on 1, 25, 9 *ex insperato* and cf. 33, 31, 4 *nec tota ex vano criminatio erat*. — **scribentium**: not appreciably different from *scriptores*, but emphasizing the specific act rather than the man's permanent occupation; see *Praef.* 5. — **Fabium**: see *Introd.* 3. — **temporibus**: connect with *aequalem*, not with *auctorem*; he is quoting Fabius only on the question of loss. — **potissimum**: *most reliable*; Livy was the first prose writer to use this word of persons.

5. **captivorum**: depending upon *eis*, the antecedent of *qui*; cf. 2, 23, 13 *patrum*. — **Latini nominis**: see on 9, 19, 2. — **sine pretio dimissis**: Hannibal was eager to win the support of Rome's allies. Ac-

essent sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum cum sepeliri iussisset, Flamini quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non invenit.

Romae ad primum nuntium cladis eius cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. Matronae vagae per vias, quae repens clades adlata quaeve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percunctantur. Et cum frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum M. Pomponius praetor "Pugna" inquit "magna victi sumus." Et quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est,

cording to Polyb. 3, 77, 7 he released all the allies after the Battle of the Trebia, and (3, 85, 4) did the same thing after the Battle of Trasumennus. — **datis**: see on 1, 4, 7. — **coacervatorum**: for the agreement see on 1, 1, 4 *maiora*. — **cum**: for the position see on 21, 34, 4. — **Flamini . . . invenit**: the sentence is compressed, *quoque* referring to *funeris . . . inquisitum*, not to *invenit*; the full form would have been *Flamini quoque . . . inquiri iussit, sed non invenit*. This action of Hannibal is somewhat inconsistent with 21, 4, 9. Polybius does not mention it. For a similar treatment of a defeated enemy see 25, 31, 10.

6. **ad**: for the meaning cf. § 13 and see on 1, 25, 6. — **nuntium**: the distance from Lake Trasumennus to Rome is about one hundred miles, and it is possible that the news arrived on the day after the battle. — **terrore ac tumultu**: see on *Praef.* 12.

7. **matronae**: as usual in describing such scenes, Livy emphasizes especially the fear of the women; see on 1, 29, 5. — **repens**: used several times by Livy, always in the nom. sing., for the more common *repentinus*. — **obvios**: for this rare substantive use cf. § 11 and 21, 46, 2. — **contionis modo**: cf. 2, 23, 5. Polyb. 3, 85, 7 and Plut. *Fab.* 3 say that the magistrates called a meeting. — **magistratus**: they were in the senate-house; cf. the similar scene in 27, 50, 9.

8. **tandem . . . occasum**: after their long suspense the time of the announcement would intensify its effect upon the anxious crowd. — **praetor**: he was *praetor peregrinus*. — **pugna . . . victi sumus**: the announcement as given by Plut. *Fab.* 3 was more explicit, — *νενικήμεθα μεγάλῃ μάχῃ καὶ διέ-*

tamen alius ab alio inpleti rumoribus domos referunt con-
9 sulem cum magna parte copiarum caesum, superesse pau-
cos aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos aut captos ab
10 hoste. Quot casus exercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas dis-
tracti animi eorum erant quorum propinqui sub C. Flami-
nio consule meruerant, ignorantium quae cuiusque suorum
fortuna esset; nec quisquam satis certum habet quid aut
11 speret aut timeat. Postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad
portas maior prope mulierum quam virorum multitudo
stetit aut suorum aliquem aut nuntios de iis opperiens;
circumfundebanturque obviis sciscitantes neque avelli, uti-
que ab notis, priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, pote-
12 rant. Inde varios vultus digredientium ab nuntiis cerneres, a
ut cuique laeta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantisque aut
consolantis redeuntibus domos circumfusos. Feminarum
13 praecipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus. Vnam in ipsa
porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in conplexu eius expi-
rasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors fili falso nuntiata erat,
maestam sedentem domi ad primum conspectum redeuntis
14 fili gaudio nimio exanimatam. Senatum praetores per dies

φθαρται τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ Φλαμίνιος ὕπατος ἀπόλωλεν.

10. **distracti**: each one feared for his own relatives all the forms of death and suffering to which the army had been exposed; cf. 26, 5, 1 *Hannibalem diversum . . . trahebant curae;* Tac. *Ann.* 4. 40 *cum in omnis curas distraheretur.* — **cuiusque suorum**: not *of each one of their relatives*, but *of each one's own relatives;* the usual position of *cuiusque* in this combination is after the possessive; cf. 3, 36, 3; 22, 44, 2.

11. **deinceps**: see on 1, 6, 1. — **mulierum . . . multitudo**: cf. 26, 9, 7. — **circumfundebantur**: reflexive as in § 12; cf. 3, 35, 6 *vulgari.*

12. **cerneres**: subj. of action conceivable in past time; see on 2, 27, 6. — **gaudia . . . et luctus**: *expressions of joy and grief;* see on 3, 48, 9 *indignationum.*

13. **alteram**: according to Plin. 7, 180 and Gell. 3, 15, 4 this incident occurred after the battle of Cannae.

14. **praetores**: *urbanus* and *peregrinus*, and also T. Otacilius,

aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent consultantes, quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti victoribus Poenis posset.

Battle of Cannae

44. Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum, ut ventum ad Cannas est et in conspectu Poenum habebant, bina castra communiunt eodem ferme intervallo quo ad Gereonium, sicut ante copiis divisis. Aufidus amnis 1 215 B.C. 2

who had not departed to his province of Sicily.

After the battle at Lake Trasumennus, instead of proceeding directly to Rome, Hannibal marched to the southeast into Apulia. Thence he crossed Italy into Campania, which he plundered. During this expedition he was not molested by the Roman dictator, Fabius, who was in such disfavor at Rome on account of his inactivity that he was finally compelled to share his command with his master of horse, Minucius. The latter soon risked a battle, and being saved from defeat by Fabius, admitted his folly and relinquished his command. C. Terentius Varro and L. Aemilius Paulus were elected consuls for 216, and a large army was raised. Hannibal had now returned to Apulia, whither he was followed by the consuls, Varro being eager for battle, Paulus more cautious.

44–50[3]. References: Polyb. 3, 107–118. Sil. Ital. 9, 10. Plut. *Fab.* 15 f. App. *Hann.* 17–26. Ihne, 2, 231–240. Mommsen, 2, 287–291. Arnold, *Second Punic War*, 66–76. Dodge, *Hannibal*, 344–380.

44. 1. **Poenum . . . Poenum**: it is possible that in the first instance Hannibal is meant, in the second the Carthaginian army (see on 1, 27, 10 *Veientem*), but that does not justify the repetition. — **ad**: *to the neighborhood of*. — **intervallo**: according to Polyb. 3, 110, 10 the small camp was ten stadia (a little more than a mile) from the large one and a little farther from the enemy. — **Gereonium**: about seventy-five miles north of Cannae. — **sicut . . . divisis**: *divided, as before*, — but not necessarily in the same manner; 22, 40, 5 f. *castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus maior pars et omne robur virium*

utrisque castris adfluens aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuius-
3 que opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hos-
4 tium praesidium. Hannibal spem nanctus [locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat] facturos copiam pugnandi consules, dirigit aciem lacessitque Nu-
5 midarum procursatione hostis. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, cum Paulus Sempronique et Flamini temeritatem Varroni,

esset, . . . Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium peditum equitumque duobus milibus praeficiunt. Polyb. *l. c.* says one third were in the smaller camp.

2. **Aufidus amnis**: the largest river of Apulia, but fordable at this time of the year. — **utrisque castris**: the two Roman camps. Neither Polybius nor Livy states on which side of the river were the camps or on which side the battle was fought. It is clear, however, (44, 3; 45, 2), that the large camp and the Carthaginian camp were on the same side and that the small camp was on the other side; that the battle occurred on the side on which was the small camp (45, 6); that the Romans from the large camp crossed first, believing, perhaps, that the ground on the other side was more favorable to them, and faced south (46, 8), a manœuvre which, if they had crossed to the southern bank, would have exposed their rear to the Carthaginians; that, therefore, the larger Roman camp and the Carthaginian camp were on the southern bank and that the battle was fought on the northern bank. — **cuiusque**: see on 22, 7, 10.

3. **posita . . . erant**: probably for the very reason that there was no hostile force on that side and the small camp would thus serve as a center for the gathering of supplies.

4. **natis ad**: see on 22, 4, 2. The country is flat both north and south of the Aufidus; 21, 47, 1 *hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit, quo facile adparuit equitatu meliorem Poenum esse et ob id campos patentis, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse.* — **qua parte**: see on 21, 41, 4. — **invictus**: see on 24, 34, 9.

5. **Semproni**: the consul who had been defeated at the Trebia two years before. — **-que et**: for the correlation see on *Praef.* 13.

Varro *Paulo* speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium obiceret, testareturque deos hominesque hic, 6
nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam vel*ut* usu
cepisset Italiam; se constrictum a collega teneri; ferrum
atque arma iratis et pugnare cupienti*bus* adimi militibus;
ille, si quid proiectis ac proditis ad *in*consultam atque inpro- 7
vidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpae exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore diceret; videret ut,
quibus lingua prompta ac temeraria, aeque in pugna
vigerent manus.

45. Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus 1
teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat
instructam, cum in castra ceteras reciperet copias, Numidas 2
ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores
trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam cum vixdum 3
in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, *in* stationem
quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas evecti
sunt. Id vero *adeo* indignum visum, ab tumultuario auxilio 4
iam etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa, ne

6. **hic**: referring properly, even if *Paulo* is inserted in § 5, to the second and nearer nominative, *Varro*. — **usu**: there was a law of the Twelve Tables that one having undisputed possession for two years was entitled to ownership of the property.

7. **proiectis ac proditis**: *abandoned* (lit. *thrown away*; cf. 2, 27, 11) *and betrayed*. — **proditis ad**: cf. 26, 12, 11. — **exsortem . . . participem**: adversative asyndeton. — **diceret**: predicate of *ille* and added apparently as an afterthought on account of the remoteness of *testaretur*, which would naturally serve as predicate for both *hic* and *ille*.

45. 1. **ad multum diei**: see on 5, 38, 4 *in aequo campi*; cf. 42, 15, 5.

3. **clamore ac tumultu**: *by shouts and noise*.

4. **indignum**: unworthy of them, *disgraceful*; cf. 26, 11, 7. — **tumultuario**: cf. 5, 37, 7 *tumultuario exercitu*. — **auxilio**: apparently used nowhere else in the singular in this concrete sense.

extemplo transirent flumen derigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperi eo die penes Paulum fuit.
5 Itaque postero die Varro, cui sors eius diei imperi erat, nihil consulto collega signum proposuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare
6 quam non adiuvare consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quoque (quas in castris minoribus habuerant) copias suis adiungunt atque ita instruunt aciem: in dextro cornu —id erat flumini propius— Romanos equites locant, deinde
7 pedites; laevum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt; iaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima acies
8 facta. Consules cornua tenuere, Terentius laevum, Aemilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

5. **cui . . . erat**: superfluous after *quod . . . fuit*, and Livy has already said in 22, 41, 3 *alternis imperitabant*. — **nihil**: stronger than *non; not at all;* emphasizing the fact that Varro alone was responsible for the defeat. Ordinarily there would have been consultation between the two commanders. For this use of *nihil* cf. 5, 42, 7; 5, 46, 2. — **signum**: the red flag; cf. 22, 3, 9. — **instructasque copias . . . traduxit**: cf. 1, 1, 7. — **quia . . . poterat**: cf. 22, 44, 7.

6. **in castris minoribus**: probably under the command of Servilius Geminus, consul of the previous year. — **propius**: here an adj. with the dat.; see on 21, 1, 2. There was evidently at this point a bend in the river so that it flowed approximately toward the south; cf. 22, 46, 2. — **Romanos equites**: according to Polyb. 3, 113, 5 there were 80,000 infantry and a little over 6000 cavalry. Livy 22, 36, 4 *septemque et octoginta milia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanis fuisse, cum pugnatum ad Cannas est, quidam auctores sunt.* App. *Hann.* 17 says 70,000 foot and 6000 horse. — **deinde**: in the center, at the left of the cavalry.

7. **intra**: not used elsewhere as an adv. until after the Augustan period; here in sense parallel with *extremi; the left wing was occupied by the allied cavalry on the outside, toward the center by the infantry.* — **facta**: for the agreement with the pred. noun cf. 1, 1, 3 *appellati.*

46. Hannibal luce prima Baliaribus levique alia armatura praemissa trangressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat, Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam laevo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros Romanam [magna ex parte] crederes aciem; ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formae fere erant, dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucroni-

8. laevum: probably only the cavalry of the allies, though in § 7 the infantry also are included in the left wing. — **dextrum**: Roman cavalry. — **Gemino Servilio**: *cognomen* before *nomen*, as occasionally in Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust, but more often in the post-Augustan period. Servilius was consul in 217, at the end of the year had been made proconsul, and was now serving as military tribune; see 22, 49, 16. — **media . . . data**: *the charge of the center* (Roman and allied infantry) *was intrusted*; cf. 27, 48, 4.

46. 1. Baliaribus . . . armatura: cf. 22, 4, 3. — **quosque**: the plural indicates the individual bodies of troops. — **traduxerat**: see on 3, 50, 13. — **ita**: not as in 22, 45, 6, but correlative with *ut*; he led them across in the order in which they were to be placed in the battle, so that the line might be formed quickly and with as little confusion as possible; the same idea is expressed in 22, 45, 5 by *instructas . . . traduxit*.

2. prope ripam: see on 22, 45, 6 *flumini propius*. Note the three forms of expression, — *equites* (object of *locabat*), *dextrum cornu . . . datum* (*est*), and the abl. abs., *media acie . . . firmata*.

3. firmata: *composed of*; see on 21, 46, 5. — **cornua**: the flanks of the infantry, not the wings of the whole line. — **medii**: and projecting somewhat, as is stated in 22, 47, 5; Polyb. 3, 113, 8 μηνοειδὲς ποιῶν τὸ κύρτωμα. *medii* is used like *extremi* in 22, 45, 7.

4. crederes: see on 2, 27, 6. — **ceterum**: taking the place of a second *et*. Polyb. 3, 87, 3 says that after the Battle of Lake Trasumennus Hannibal armed his African troops with Roman weapons.

5. formae: long and narrow. — **dispares ac dissimiles**: *of different*

bus, Hispano, punctim magis quam caesim adsueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Ante alios habitus gentium harum cum magnitudine corporum tum
6 specie terribilis erat. Galli super umbilicum erant nudi; Hispani linteis praetextis purpura, tunicis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant. Numerus omnium peditum qui tum stetere in acie milium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum.
7 Duces cornibus praeerant, sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal; mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone
8 tenuit. Sol, seu de industria ita locatis seu quod forte ita stetere, peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat, Romanis
9 in meridiem, Poenis in septemtrionem versis; ventus — Volturnum regionis incolae vocant — adversus Romanis

length and appearance, the latter word referring particularly to the *mucrones*. — **habiles**: cf. 24, 34, 5 *inhabile*. — **ante alios**: cf. 5, 42, 5; brachylogy for *ante aliorum habitum;* see on 2, 27, 4. — **habitus . . . specie**: the meanings of the two words are identical; *appearance;* but the former is more broad, including both *magnitudine* and *specie*, while the latter is explained in *Galli . . . constiterant*. — **harum**: the position is unusual; cf. 1, 16, 6.

6. **nudi**: 38, 21, 9 *nudi pugnant, et sunt fusa et candida corpora, ut quae numquam nisi in pugna nudentur*. — **milium**: gen. of measure.

7. **Maharbal**: Polyb. 3, 114, 7 says Hanno commanded the right wing; according to App. *Hann.* 20, Hannibal's brother Mago commanded the right wing, his nephew Hanno the left. — **mediam aciem**: Frontin. *Strat.* 2, 3, 7 speaks of the difficulty of the manœuvre accomplished by the center, — *hoc enim genus ordinationis exsequi nisi peritus et ad omne momentum respondens miles vix potest.* Hannibal had great confidence in his brother and at the Trebia also had given him a post of much responsibility.

8. **locatis**: sc. *eis;* ablative absolute. — **obliquus**: this was true only in the early morning; at midday the sun, though high, would have shone into the faces of the Romans.

9. **Volturnum**: 22, 43, 10 *Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Volturno vento, qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit.* It was a southwest wind, named

coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

47. Clamore sublato procursum *ab* auxiliis et pugna levi- 1
bus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorum*que* laevum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrit, minime equestris more pugnae; frontibus enim adversis 2
concurrendum erat, quia nullo circa ad evagandum relicto spatio hinc amnis, hinc peditum acies claudebant. In de- 3
rectum utrimque nitentes, stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis, vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre magna iam ex parte certamen factum erat; acrius tamen

from Mt. Voltur, which lay in that direction from northern Apulia, and its effect was apparently that of the modern sirocco, which is especially prevalent in Apulia in June, in which month, according to the reformed calendar, the battle was fought. Some ancient authorities made much of this circumstance in explaining the Roman defeat. Polybius does not mention it. — **volvendo**: for this use of the gerundive see on 21, 28, 12.

47. 1. **levibus . . . armis**: *light-armed troops* (cf. 22, 46, 1 *armatura*), but not sufficiently personified to make the preposition necessary; for this use of *arma* cf. 9, 9, 19 and 41, 12, 9 *populantique campestris agros consuli nulla usquam adparuerunt arma*. After discharging their missiles, the light-armed troops retired between the maniples in their rear; see 21, 46, 6. — **minime . . . pugnae**: the Roman generals, weaker than Hannibal in cavalry, had no doubt chosen this position partly to offset his advantage.

2. **frontibus adversis**: cf. § 5 *obliqua fronte* and 5, 38, 3 *recta fronte*; Sall. *Jug.* 59, 3 *non, uti equestri proelio solet, sequi, dein cedere, sed adversis equis concurrere, inplicare ac perturbare aciem*. — **nullo . . . spatio**: the abl. abs. gives the result of *hinc amnis . . . claudebant*; see on 21, 1, 5 *inposito*. — **acies**: plural, as in 22, 5, 6.

3. **stantibus ac confertis**: elsewhere Livy connects *confertus* directly with *stare*, *e.g.* 10, 29, 6 *Galli . . . conferti starent*; the separation here is necessary, as the second word indicates a condition later than the first, *i.e.* the horses came to a standstill and finally were crowded together. — **detrahebat**: agreeing with the appositive *vir* instead of with the subject *nitentes* (*equites*). — **equo**: dat.; cf. 9, 10, 7. — **pedestre . . . cer-**

quam diutius pugnatum est, pulsique Romani equites terga
4 vertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum
pugna, primo et viribus et animis par, dum constabant or-
5 dines Gallis Hispanisque; tandem Romani, diu ac saepe
conisi, *ob*liqua fronte acieque densa inpulere hostium cuneum
nimis tenuem eoque parum validum, a cetera prominentem
6 acie. Inpulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem insti-
tere, ac tenore uno per praeceps pavore fugientium agmen
in mediam primum aciem inlati, postremo nullo resistente
7 ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrimque reductis
alis constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant,
8 aliquantum prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus aequa-
vit frontem primum, dein cedendo etiam sinum in medio
dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant, inruentibusque in-

tamen: cf. 21, 46, 6. — **acrius . . . diutius**: the regular method of expressing a comparison of two qualities. Polybius says that those horsemen who escaped from the battle were killed as they fled along the river bank.

5. **diu . . . conisi**: Polyb. 3, 115, 5, on the contrary, says, ἐπὶ βραχὺ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰβήρων καὶ τῶν Κελτῶν ἔμενον οἱ τάξεις καὶ διεμάχοντο τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γενναίως. — **obliqua fronte**: the adj. is loosely applied to the whole front, though only the wings were advancing obliquely; the result was a concave front which partially inclosed the Gauls and Spaniards. — **densa**: referring, not to the depth, but to the density of the line; the maniples were close together.

6. **tenore uno**: *in an unbroken advance;* a colloquialism, as appears from Cic. *Orat.* 21 *uno tenore, ut aiunt.* — **praeceps**: joined with verbs and with nouns in which the verbal element is prominent; *e.g. fuga.* — **mediam . . . aciem**: though obscure, this must refer to the Gauls and Spaniards (cf. § 7 *media . . . acie*), and adds therefore little, if anything, to what has been said in *per . . . agmen.* — **inlati**: reflexive; cf. 3, 35, 6 *vulgari.* — **subsidia**: not *reserves* in the usual sense, but the main body of the infantry.

8. **aequavit frontem**: *formed a straight line*, instead of the former wedge; for a different meaning cf. 5, 38, 2. — **in medio**: for this substantive use cf. 9, 2, 7. — **dedit**: for *dare* in the sense of *facere* cf. 3, 48, 3; 5, 38, 3; 7, 2, 4; Verg.

caute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostis. Hinc Romani de- 9
functi nequiquam proelio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, adversus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo iniquam, quod inclusi adversus cir- 10
cumfusos, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.

48. Iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, consertum proelium erat, segne primo et a Punica coeptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Nu- 2
midae, praeter *sol*ita arma telaque gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum cum ab suis parmas post terga habentes adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt, parmis- 3
que et iaculis ante pedes hostium proiectis in mediam aciem

Aen. 12, 575 *dant cuneum.* — **circa**: *on both sides*; cf. 9, 2, 7. Polyb. 3, 115, 9 makes a fuller statement, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος κλίναντες ἐπ' ἀσπίδα (toward the left) . . . οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν εὐωνύμων ἐπὶ δόρυ (toward the right) ποιούμενοι τὴν κλίσιν. — **fecerant**: pluperfect, because the writer is looking forward to *circumdedere* and regards the action of the former verb as merely preparatory to that of the latter; see on 1, 7, 1 *consalutaverat*. — **Romanis . . . alas**: *they surrounded the Roman flanks*; *Romanis* is dat. of reference (see on 1, 5, 6); this clause merely states the condition which was the result of the preceding action (*fecerant*) and does not indicate a second stage in the manœuvre; *i.e. they had extended their wings on both sides and thus surrounded* etc. — **ab tergo**: apparently an exaggeration, as Polyb. 3, 115, 12 and Frontin. *Strat.* 2, 3, 7 both speak of an attack on the flanks only; moreover, it appears from 22, 49. 4 that at some point, and naturally in the rear, the Romans had a chance to escape.

10. **circumfusos**: reflexive, as in 22, 7, 11.

48. 1. **segne**: cf. § 5.

2. **Numidae**: according to Appian, 20, 22, the scene of this stratagem was the Carthaginian right wing, as in Livy, but it was executed by Celtiberians. — **arma**: see on 1, 25, 4. — **parmas . . . habentes**: to indicate their friendly purpose.

3. **mediam aciem**: referring only to the Roman left wing. —

accepti ductique ad ultimos considere ab tergo iubentur. Ac dum proelium ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manse-
4 runt; postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum adreptis scutis, quae passim inter acervos caesorum corporum strata erant, aversam adoriuntur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites caedentes stragem ingentem ac maiorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumul-
5 tum fecerunt. Cum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala iam spe proelium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea parte praeerat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim fugientis
6 mittit, Hispanos et Gallos equites Afris prope iam fessis caede magis quam pugna adiungit.

ab tergo . . . ab omni parte: see on 1, 24, 2 *unde*.

4. **poplites**: 22, 51, 7 *quosdam et iacentis vivos succisis feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt*.

5. **alibi . . . alibi**: the Roman left wing and center. — **Hasdrubal**: Polyb. 3, 116, 6 states what Livy should have stated, that after his success on the Carthaginian left wing, Hasdrubal went to the assistance of the Numidian cavalry on the right wing and caused the immediate flight of the Roman allied cavalry. — **subductos . . . Numidas**: the main body of Numidian cavalry, not the 500 of § 2. Their assistance, even if it had been effective, was no longer needed, as the Roman left wing was already in confusion or flight. Polybius says that on account of their peculiar method of fighting, the Numidians neither inflicted nor received great harm; that Hasdrubal sent them in pursuit of fugitives because he saw that they were more effective against troops which had turned in flight. *ex media acie* is obscure, but it may mean that Hasdrubal had placed his force of Gallic and Spanish cavalry, brought from the left wing, on the flanks of the Numidians and that from their position in the center of the cavalry they were now withdrawn. Hasdrubal with the Spanish and Gallic cavalry now fell on the rear of the Roman infantry. — **fugientis**: especially the Roman allied cavalry.

6. **Afris . . . adiungit**: Polyb. 3, 116, 7 *πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν πεζῶν μάχην ἡγεῖτο, σπεύδων παραβοηθῆσαι τοῖς Λίβυσι. προσπεσὼν δὲ*

49. Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quamquam primo statim 1
proelio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrit saepe 2
cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis proelium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires deficiebant. Tum denuntianti cuidam iussisse consulem ad 3
pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem ferunt "Quam mallem vinctos mihi traderet." Equitum pedestre 4
proelium, quale iam haud dubia hostium victoria fuit, cum

. . . κατὰ νώτου καὶ ποιούμενος . . . ταῖς ἴλαις ἐμβολὰς ἅμα κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους, ἐπέρρωσε μὲν τοὺς Λίβυας, ἐταπείνωσε δὲ . . . τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων.

49. 1. **parte altera**: the center, as is clear from § 2 *Hannibali*. *altera* is correctly used, as there was fighting then at only two points, the Roman left wing and the center, and the battle on the left wing has just been described. — **Paulus**: Livy fails to explain the presence of Paulus in this part of the battle; he should have stated, as Polybius does (3, 116, 1), that, after his defeat on the right wing, he went to the assistance of the center. According to Appian, 19, however, Paulus, with a body-guard of the best cavalry, commanded the center from the beginning of the battle, and Livy at this point seems to have written with that idea in mind, abandoning for a time the authority of Polybius. In this way the statement that Paulus was wounded during the engagement of the light-armed troops is more easily understood.

2. **cum confertis**: Livy is thinking especially of the body-guard of cavalry mentioned by Appian; otherwise *equitibus* could be explained only on the supposition that some of the horsemen had survived the rout on the right wing and accompanied Paulus to the center. — **omissis**: cf. 5, 47, 5 *armisque omissis*.

3. **iussisse**: inconsistent with the previous sentence, *omissus . . . equis, quia . . . deficiebant*, which is in accord with the statements of Appian and Plutarch that the horsemen voluntarily dismounted. — **ad pedes**: see on 21, 46, 6. — **quam mallem . . . traderet**: ironical; since he is thus surrendering his troops, it would simplify matters if he would hand them over bound.

4. **quale**: sc. *proelium est cum*. Livy regularly omits the verb in clauses of this sort introduced by *quale*; *e.g.* 3, 62, 6; 5, 28, 13; cf. 1, 25, 9. — **in vestigio**: cf. 21,

victi mori in vestigio mallent quam fugere, victores morantibus victoriam irati trucidarent quos pellere non poterant. 5 Pepulerunt tamen iam paucos superantis et labore ac vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt equosque ad 6 fugam qui poterant repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum cum praetervehens equo sedentem in saxo cruore 7 oppletum consulem vidisset, "L. Aemili," inquit "quem unum insontem culpae cladis hodiernae dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium aliquid super- 8 est *et* comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris; etiam si*ne* 9 hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est." Ad ea consul: "Tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute estō; sed cave frustra miserando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium evadendi 10 absumas. Abi, nuntia publice patribus urbem Romanam muniant ac, priusquam victor hostis advenit, praesidiis fir-

35, 12. — **mallent . . . trucidarent**: for the asyndeton see on 3, 52, 5. — **fugere . . . pellere**: they were evidently not entirely inclosed in the rear; see on 22, 47, 8.

5. **equos**: which had been held by servants or by some of their own number. It should be noted that Livy is not describing here the end of the infantry battle which he left unfinished in chap. 47. He confines his attention to the cavalry force with Paulus, leaving the reader to assume that the infantry were either killed or scattered.

6. **praetervehens**: with the force of the middle voice. Livy elsewhere uses *praeveho* in this sense, *praeterveho* only of navigation.

7. **insontem culpae**: the gen. with *insons* is not found before Livy; he uses also the ablative. Cf. 22, 44, 7 *culpae exsortem*.

8. **ne . . . feceris**: see on 9, 11, 13. — **lacrimarum . . . luctusque**: see on *Praef.* 12.

9. **macte**: generally regarded as an adverb, perhaps originally the vocative of *mactus*, the participle of an obsolete verb *mago* = *augeo* (cf. *magnus*). In Livy it is joined with *virtute* always, and with *esto* except in 2, 12, 14 *iuberem macte virtute esse* and 7, 36, 5 *macte virtute . . . este*.

10. **abi, nuntia . . . muniant**: cf. 22, 3, 13.

ment; privatim Q. Fabio *L.* Aemilium praeceptorum eius memorem et vixisse adhuc et mori. Me in hac strage 11
militum meorum patere expirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim *aut* accusator collegae existam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam." Haec eos agentis 12
prius turba fugientium civium, deinde hostes oppressere; consulem ignorantes, quis esset, obruere telis, Lentulum in*ter* tumultum abripuit equus. Tum undi*que* effuse fugiunt. Septem milia hominum in minora castra, decem 13
in maiora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt, qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equitibus, nullo munimento tegente vicum, circumventi sunt. Consul alter, seu 14
forte seu consilio nulli fugientium insertus agmini, cum quinquaginta fere equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quad- 15
raginta quinque *milia* quingenti pedites, duo milia septingenti equites, e*t* tanta*dem* prope civium sociorumque pars,

11. **reus iterum**: he had been consul in 219 with M. Livius Salinator. 22, 35, 3 *damnatione collegae et sua prope ambustus evaserat*; the charge was probably misuse of public funds or unfair distribution of the spoils acquired in the war against Demetrius of Pharos. — **e**: *immediately after*; cf. 1, 16, 2.

12. **consulem**: object of *ignorantes* as well as of *obruere*. — **undique**: not *in all directions*, but *from all sides*; this is a careless repetition of the statement in § 5, unless it is assumed that Livy, having finished his consideration of Paulus and his cavalry, now returns to the infantry and disposes of them with this brief statement; see on § 5.

14. **quinquaginta fere**: in 25, 6, 13 and in Polyb. 3, 117, 2, seventy is the number. — **Venusiam**: about thirty miles southwest of Cannae.

15. **quadraginta . . . equites**: the total number of killed given by ancient writers varies from 43,500 (Eutrop. 3, 10; 40,000 infantry, 3500 cavalry) to 70,000 (Polyb. 3, 117, 4). Plutarch and Appian (and Livy, 22, 59, 5 and elsewhere), speaking in round numbers, give 50,000; Quint. 8, 6, 26, gives 60,000. Cf. 27, 49, 6 for the Carthaginian loss at the Battle of the Metaurus River. — **tantadem**: a rare word except in the neut. sing. used as a substantive; not found elsewhere in Livy.

caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, et undetriginta tribuni militum, consulares quidam praetoriique et aedilicii — inter eos Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, aliquot annis ante *consul* fuerat —, octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent, cum sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo proelio tria milia peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

50. Haec est pugna *Cannensis*, Aliensi cladi nobilitate par, ceterum uti eis quae post pugnam accidere levior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior foediorque. Fuga namque ad Aliam sicut urbem prodidit, ita exercitum servavit; ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix quinquaginta secuti sunt, alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.

16. **quaestores**: for their duties see on 9, 5, 4. — **undetriginta**: there were in all 48, six for each of the eight legions; for their position see on 9, 2, 15. — **consulares . . . aedilicii**: in app. with *tribuni*. — **consul**: in 221.

17. **octoginta . . . deberent**: Eutrop. 3, 10, making no distinction between the military tribunes and those who were serving as private soldiers, gives the following statement: (*perierunt*) *consulares aut praetorii* XX, *senatores capti aut occisi* XXX, *nobiles viri* CCC. The periocha of this book says that 90 senators perished, and 30 who had been consuls, praetors, or aediles. — **eos magistratus**: consulship, praetorship, and curule aedileship; just when the plebeian aedile became eligible to the senate is doubtful. The appointment of senators was at this time in the hands of the censors, under certain restrictions prescribed by law.

50. 1. **haec est pugna**: cf. 22, 7, 1. — **nobilitate**: see on 9, 1, 1 *nobilis*.

2. **uti . . . sic**: *though . . . yet*; cf. 21, 29, 4,

3. **namque**: for the position see on 3, 44, 6. — **exercitum servavit**: see 5, 38, 9. — **fugientem**: Appian 23 ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, καὶ ὁ Τερέντιος αὐτοῖς ἐξῆρχε τῆς φυγῆς.

BOOK XXIV

Siege of Syracuse

33. Inde terra marique simul coeptae oppugnari Syracusae, terra ab Hexapylo, mari ab Achradina, cuius murus fluctu adluitur. Et quia, sicut Leontinos terrore ac primo impetu ceperant, non diffidebant vastam disiectamque spatio urbem parte aliqua se invasuros, omnem apparatum oppugnandarum urbium muris admoverunt. 9 214 B.C.

Frontin. *Strat.* 4, 5, 6 *Varro collega eius vel maiore constantia post eandem cladem vixit gratiaeque ei a senatu et populo actae sunt, quod non desperasset rem publicam. Non autem vitae cupiditate, sed rei publicae amore se superfuisse reliquo aetatis suae tempore adprobavit; et barbam capillumque submisit et postea numquam recubans cibum cepit; honoribus quoque, cum ei deferrentur a populo, renuntiavit, dicens felicioribus magistratibus rei publicae opus esse.*

Book XXIV. **33**[9]**–34**. Book XXV. **31**. References: Polyb. 8, 5–9; 37. Plut. *Marcellus*, 14–19. Ihne, 2, 299–313. Mommsen, 2, 309–313. Arnold, *Second Punic War*, 205–209; 216–231.

33. 9. **coeptae**: see on 2, 1, 4. — **oppugnari**: Hiero, king of Syracuse, the lifelong friend of Rome (see on 21, 1, 5), died in 216 and was succeeded by his grandson, Hieronymus, who allied himself with Carthage. On this account Marcellus, consul in 214, went at the end of that year or, possibly, at the beginning of the next to besiege the city. Marcellus himself commanded the fleet, the propraetor, Appius Claudius, the land forces (Polyb. 8, 5, 2). — **ab Hexapylo**: *i.e.* the gate of that name, located on the northern side of the city, was the center of operations; for the use of *ab* see on 1, 24, 2. — **Achradina**: the wide promontory, which, with the little peninsula of Ortygia, constituted the eastern part of the city. — **murus . . . adluitur**: the coast line of Achradina is rocky and precipitous, but it was still further protected by a wall. — **Leontinos**: about twenty miles northwest of Syracuse. The capture of the town is described in the preceding chapters. — **vastam . . . spatio**: *of great size and widely separated in its parts;* in 25, 24, 6 Livy says of Syracuse, *in vastae magnitudinis urbe partium sensu non satis pertinente in omnia.* For the language cf. 24, 2,

1 **34.** Et habuisset tanto impetu coepta res fortunam, nisi
2 unus homo Syracusis ea tempestate fuisset. Archimedes is erat, unicus spectator caeli siderumque, mirabilior tamen inventor ac machinator bellicorum tormentorum operumque, quibus (*quidquid* hostes ingenti mole agerent) ipse per-
3 levi momento ludificaretur. Muros per inaequalis ductos colles, pleraque alta et difficilia aditu, submissa quaedam et quae planis vallibus adiri possent, *ut* cuique aptum visum est loco, ita genere omni tormentorum instruxit.
4 Achradinae murum, qui, ut ante dictum est, mari adlui-
5 tur, sexaginta quinqueremibus Marcellus oppugnabat. Ex ceteris navibus sagittarii funditoresque et velites etiam, quorum telum ad remittendum inhabile imperitis est, vix quemquam sine vulnere consistere in muro patiebantur.

9 *in vasta urbe lateque moenibus disiectis.* — **invasuros**: *would force themselves in*; the verb often has this idea of hostile invasion.

34. 1. **et**: *and in fact*; for a similarly pregnant use of *et*, where the meaning is, however, somewhat different, see 2, 28, 8; in such cases the verb usually follows the conjunction immediately. — **fortunam**: *success*; cf. 27, 49, 4. — **tempestate** = *tempore*; see on 1, 5, 2.

2. **Archimedes**: cf. 2, 10, 2 *pons sublicius iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset, Horatius Cocles.* — **unicus**: cf. § 13 and see on 3, 33, 8. — **machinator**: *constructor.* — **mole**: *effort*; contrasted with *perlevi momento.* — **momento**: see on 5, 49, 5.

3. **pleraque**: sc. *loca*; in app. with *colles*; for *pleraque* = the greater number, the majority, cf. 21, 35, 4. — **planis vallibus**: *on level ground.* This was true of only the extreme western part of the town and the narrow space between Achradina and the peninsula of Ortygia. At all other points the city was naturally protected.

5. **ceteris**: *some*; contrasted with *aliae* in § 6. *ceterae* and *aliae* are included in *sexaginta quinqueremes.* According to Polyb. 8, 6, 2 there were sixty vessels carrying light-armed troops and eight besides joined in pairs. — **velites**: armed with light javelins. — **etiam**: emphasizing the surprising fact that they were fighting by sea. — **inhabile**: cf. 22, 46, 5 *habiles.*

Hi, quia spatio missilibus opus est, procul muro tenebant 6
naves. Iunctae aliae binae quinqueremes, demptis inte-
rioribus remis, ut latus lateri adplicaretur, cum exteriore 7
ordine remorum velut una navis agerentur, turres contabu-
latas machinamentaque alia quatiendis muris portabant.
Adversus hunc navalem apparatum Archimedes variae 8
magnitudinis tormenta in muris disposuit. In eas quae
procul erant navis saxa ingenti pondere emittebat, pro-
piores levioribus eoque magis crebris petebat telis; pos- 9
tremo, ut sui volnere intacti tela in hostem ingererent,
murum ab imo ad summum crebris cubitalibus fere cavis
aperuit, per quae cava pars sagittis, pars scorpionibus mo-
dicis ex occulto petebant hostem. Quae propius [quae- 10
dam] subibant naves, quo interiores ictibus tormentorum
essent, in eas tollenone super murum eminente ferrea

6. **hi**: referring to all the classes just mentioned.

7. **contabulatas**: *built in stories*. — **machinamenta**: a rare word, and, except here, not found in this sense before Tacitus. Livy uses elsewhere *machina*.—**quatiendis muris**: with this dat. of purpose cf. 24, 33, 9 *oppugnandarum urbium*.

9. **intacti**: unharmed and therefore not able to be harmed; cf. 2, 1, 4 *inviolati* and 9, 18, 17 *invictus*. — **imo . . . summum . . . occulto**: see on 1, 3, 2 *certo*. — **cubitalibus**: a cubit, *i.e.* one and a half Roman feet long. The Roman foot was a trifle less than the English foot. Polyb. 8, 7, 6 says, ἕως ἀνδρομήκους ὕψους κατεπύκνωσε τρήμασι τὸ τεῖχος ὡς πυλαίοις (one fourth of a foot) τὸ μέγεθος κατὰ τὴν ἐκτὸς ἐπιφάνειαν. *cubitalis*, like many other adj. in *-alis*, is found first in Livy; *e.g.* 1, 28, 1 *lustrale*, used first by Livy in prose. — **scorpionibus**: different from the *catapulta* and the *ballista*; Veget. 4, 22 *scorpiones dicebant quas nunc manuballistas vocant, ideo sic nuncupati quod parvis subtilibusque spiculis inferunt mortem*.

10. **quo . . . essent**: *that they might be too far in to be struck by the machines*; 7, 10, 10 *totoque corpore interior periculo vulneris factus insinuasset se inter corpus armaque*. — **in eas**: used in anticipation of *iniecta*, and to be connected with it grammatically; *prorae* is added in a different but more

manus, firmae catenae inligata, cum iniecta prorae esset gravique libramento plumbi recelleret ad solum, suspensa
11 prora navem in puppim statuebat; dein remissa subito velut ex muro cadentem navem cum ingenti trepidatione nautarum ita undae adfligebat, ut, etiamsi recta reciderat,
12 aliquantum aquae acciperet. Ita maritima oppugnatio est elusa omnisque spes eo versa, ut totis viribus terra ad-
13 grederentur. Sed ea quoque pars eodem omni apparatu tormentorum instructa erat Hieronis inpensis curaque per
14 multos annos, Archimedis unica arte. Natura etiam adiuvabat loci, quod saxum cui inposita muri fundamenta sunt magna parte ita proclive est, ut non solum missa tormento, sed etiam quae pondere suo provolutā essent, graviter in
15 hostem inciderent. Eadem causa ad subeundum arduum
16 aditum instabilemque ingressum praebebat. Ita consilio habito, quoniam omnis conatus ludibrio esset, absistere oppugnatione atque obsidendo tantum arcere terra marique commeatibus hostem placuit.

common construction with *inicio*, to indicate the particular part of the boat which was seized by the hook. — **tollenone**: *a derrick*. — **libramento**: *counterpoise*. — **recelleret**: the language is inexact. *manus* is the subject, but it was the end of the supporting beam (*tolleno*) inside the wall which descended to the ground, thus lifting the hook at the other end. — **prora**: ablative.

11. **remissa**: *released*, agreeing with *manus*, which is still the subject. This could be done by freeing the other end of the beam from the weight (*libramentum*). — **undae**: collective, as in 44, 33, 2 *venae in mare permanantes undae miscerentur*; elsewhere only poetical in this use. — **recta**: *upright*; *i.e.* right side up; cf. 21, 36, 1.

12. **spes**: sc. *Romanorum*.

14. **magna parte**: unusual, for the regular *magna ex parte*; cf. 9, 24, 12 *maxima parte*; *ex magna parte* and *partem magnam* (adverbial) are found rarely.

16. **ludibrio esset**: serving as a passive for *ludificor*; see § 2.

BOOK XXV

Capture of Syracuse

31. Suppresso impetu militum ut iis qui in Achradina 1
erant transfugis spatium locusque fugae datus est, Syracu- 2
sani tandem liberi metu portis Achradinae apertis oratores 212 B.C.
ad Marcellum mittunt, nihil petentis aliud quam incolumita-
tem sibi liberisque suis. Marcellus, consilio advocato et ad- 3
hibitis etiam Syracusanis qui per seditiones pulsi ab domo
intra praesidia Romana fuerant, respondit non plura per 4
annos quinquaginta benefacta Hieronis quam paucis his
annis maleficia eorum qui Syracusas tenuerint erga popu-
lum Romanum esse. Sed pleraque eorum quo debuerint
reccidisse, foederumque ruptorum ipsos ab se graviores
multo, quam populus Romanus voluerit, poenas exegisse.

Book XXV. The siege began probably in 214 and, after continuing, according to Polybius, eight months, became a mere blockade. It was now the autumn of 212.

31. 1. **militum**: the Romans under Marcellus; they had already taken the island and a part of Achradina, when they were recalled, *ne regiae opes, quarum fama maior quam res erat, diriperentur.* — **transfugis**: Roman deserters in Achradina, who, knowing that there would be no pardon for them, had violently opposed surrender.

2. **liberi metu**: the deserters had terrified the Syracusans with stories of the treatment they would receive from the Romans. — **portis Achradinae**: Achradina was protected on the land side by a wall of its own. — **oratores**: *envoys*; cf. 2, 32, 8. — **nihil . . . aliud**: they had before asked that the city be spared.

3. **per**: *during* and *on account of*. — **ab domo**: Livy uses the preposition with *domo* as with names of towns; cf. 9, 9, 12 and see on 1, 27, 4; but he uses also *domo* without the preposition.

4. **benefacta**: *beneficium* is the word ordinarily used as the opposite of *maleficium*. — **pleraqua eorum**: sc. *maleficiorum*. — **foederum**: the one made by Rome with Hiero in 264, which was faithfully maintained till his death in 216.

5 Se quidem tertium annum circumsedere Syracusas, non ut populus Romanus servam eam civitatem haberet, sed ne transfugarum *mercennariorum*que duces captam et oppres-
6 sam tenerent. / Quid potuerint Syracusani facere, exemplo vel eos esse Syracusanorum qui intra praesidia Romana fuerint, vel Hispanum ducem Moericum, qui praesidium tradiderit, vel ipsorum Syracusanorum postremo serum
7 quidem, sed forte consilium. Sibi omnium laborum periculorumque circa moenia Syracusana terra marique tam diu exhaustorum nequaquam tanti eum fructum esse, quod
8 capere Syracusas potuisset. / Inde quaestor cum praesidio Nasum ad accipiendam pecuniam regiam custodiendamque missus. *Achradina* diripienda militi data est, custodibus divisis per domos eorum qui intra praesidia Romana fue-
9 rant. Cum multa irae, multa avaritiae foeda exempla ede-

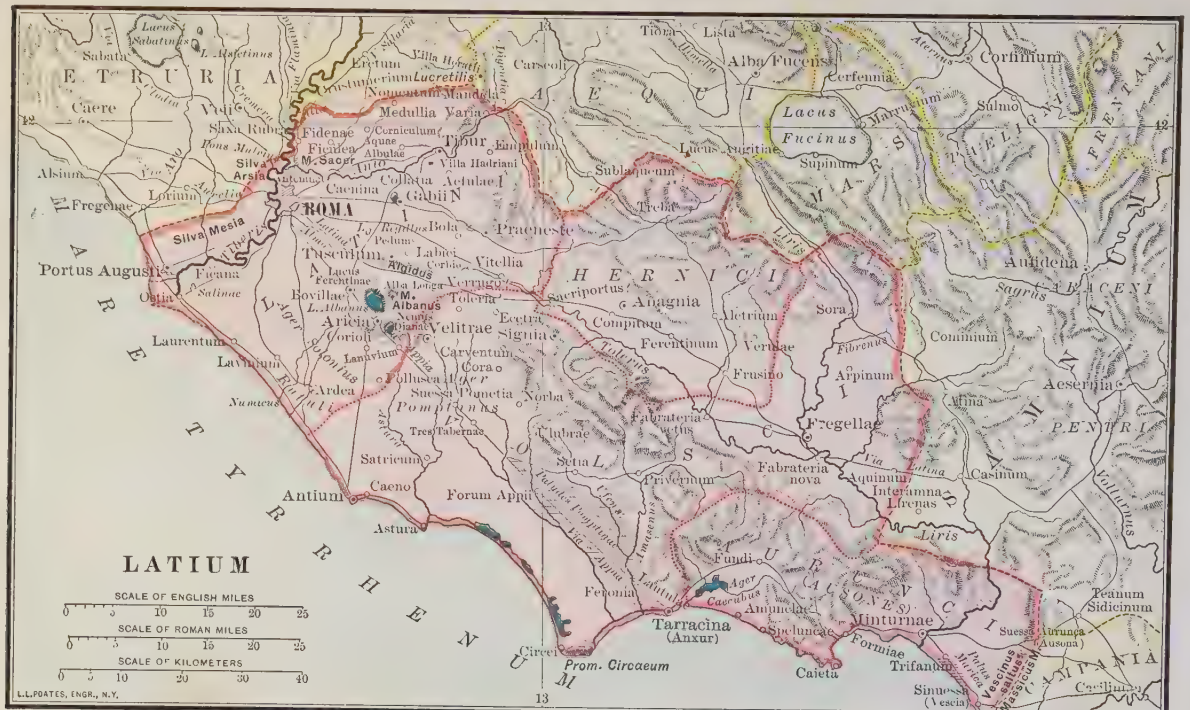
5. **tertium annum**: see introductory note. — **servam**: except with *homo*, rarely used before Livy as an adjective. — **transfugarum**: see on § 1.

6. **qui . . . fuerint**: see § 3. — **praesidia**: *fortifications*; **praesidium**: *an armed post*. The immediate repetition in a different sense is an evidence of carelessness. The word occurs in § 8 in a third sense and again in § 10 in still another sense. — **Moericum**: the commander in Achradina who opened the gate to the Romans.

7. **sibi**: contrasted with *Syracusani* in § 6. There Marcellus states what the Syracusans might have done; here he implies what he himself intends to do, *i.e.* plunder the town; this in answer to a request of an embassy sent a short time before, that he content himself with the mere capture of so great a city. — **exhaustorum**: cf. 21, 30, 9. — **tanti**: gen. of price, referring to *omnium laborum . . . exhaustorum*. — **fructum**: explained by the following clause.

8. **Nasum**: Νῆσος; the small peninsula known also as Insula and Ortygia. This is inconsistent with 24, 23, 4, where the treasure is said to have been transferred to Achradina. — **pecuniam regiam**: the treasure of Hiero and his grandson and successor, Hieronymus.

9. **cum multa . . . exempla ederentur**: *while many instances were displayed*; for *exempla* see on *Praef.* 10. — **pavor**: cf. 1, 29,


LATIUM
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
0 5 10 15 20 25
SCALE OF ROMAN MILES
0 5 10 15 20 25
SCALE OF KILOMETERS
0 5 10 20 30 40
L.L.POATES, ENGR., N.Y.
ROMA
Tiber
Lacus Fucinus
Lacus Curitis
Alba Fucens
Corfinium
Sulmo
Marruvium
Supinum
Tibur
Praeneste
Anagnia
Sora
Arpinum
Fregellae
Aquinum
Interamna Lirenas
Casinum
Fabrateria nova
Fabrateria vetus
Frusino
Ferentinum
Velitrae
Aricia
Lanuvium
Ardea
Laurentum
Lavinium
Antium
Astura
Caeno
Satricum
Forum Appii
Setia
Privernum
Fundi
Formiae
Caieta
Minturnae
Sinuessa
Tarracina (Anxur)
Circeii
Prom. Circaeum
Suessa (Aurunca)
Ausona
Teanum Sidicinum
Cales
Trifanum
Sicilicum
Liris
Sacco
Trerus
Amasenus
Ager Pomptinus
Pomptinae Paludes
Via Appia
Via Latina
Via Valeria
Via Flaminia
Via Salaria
Via Nomentana
Via Tiburtina
Via Praenestina
Via Labicana
Via Ostiensis
Via Laurentina
Via Campana
Via Setina
Via Latina
Via Aurelia
Via Cassia
Via Clodia
Via Cimina
Via Amerina
Via Nomentana
Via Tiburt

rentur, Archimeden memoriae proditum est in tanto tumultu, quantum *pavor* captae urbis in discursu diripientium militum ciere poterat, intentum formis, quas in pulvere descripserat, ab ignaro milite quis esset, interfectum; aegre id Marcellum tulisse sepulturaeque curam habitam, et propinquis etiam inquisitis honori praesidioque nomen ac memoriam eius fuisse. Hoc maxime modo Syracusae captae; in quibus praedae tantum fuit, quantum vix capta Carthagine tum fuisset, cum qua viribus aequis certabatur.

BOOK XXVI

Hannibal before the Walls of Rome. Fall of Capua.

211 B.C

9. Hannibal quo die Vulturnum est transgressus, haud procul a flumine castra posuit; postero die praeter Cales

2. — **formis**: Livy uses *intentus* also with *ad* (5, 46, 1) and *in* and once (24, 10, 4) with *adversus*; the dat. is found first in Livy. Val. Max. 8, 7, ext. 7 tells the story at greater length.

10. **sepulturae . . . habitam**: so Hannibal after the Battle of Trasumennus sought the body of Flaminius for the purpose of burial; 22, 7, 5. For this use of *habere* see on 5, 37, 4.

11. **maxime**: *approximately*; *i.e.* in regard to the chief facts; cf. 7, 30, 1. — **quantum . . . fuisset**: *i.e.* almost more than there would have been in Carthage, if Carthage had been taken at that time. *capta* is equivalent to a non-occurrent protasis in past time. *tum* is contrasted with a time when the wealth of Carthage was not so great; in 212 she was at the height of her power. — **cum . . . certabatur**: added to emphasize the statement about the wealth of Syracuse; it was as great as that of a city which was fighting with equal terms with Rome.

Book XXVI. **9–11.** References: Polyb. 9, 3–9. App. *Hann.* 38–40. Ihne, 2, 335–340. Mommsen, 2, 338–339. Arnold, *Second Punic War*, 166–172. Dodge, *Hannibal*, 482–489.

In the year 211 the Romans were giving their attention chiefly to the siege of Capua. Hannibal,

in agrum Sidicinum pervenit. Ibi diem unum populando moratus per Suessanum Allifanumque et Casinatem agrum via Latina ducit. Sub Casino biduo stativa habita et pas-
3 sim populationes factae. Inde praeter Interamnam Aquinumque in Fregellanum agrum ad Lirim fluvium ventum, ubi intercisum pontem a Fregellanis morandi itineris causa
4 invenit. Et Fulvium Vulturnus tenuerat amnis, navibus

having come from Bruttium in the hope of relieving his allies, was repulsed in his assault upon the Roman camp. He then determined to attack Rome itself, thinking that, even if he did not take the city, he would at least cause the Roman army, or a part of it, to abandon the siege of Capua in order to protect Rome.

9. 1. Vulturnum: the river crosses Campania just north of Capua.

2. **Cales**: this town and Teanum, the chief city of the Sidicini, were both on the Via Latina. — **Suessanum Allifanumque**: Suessa Aurunca was in southern Latium, at some distance from the road on the west, while Allifae was still farther distant to the east, in Samnium. We must understand that the domain of these towns extended as far as the road, or that Hannibal left the road for the purpose of plundering; see on § 3 *Interamnam*. — **Casinatem**: Casinum was on the Via Latina. — **via Latina**: branching from the Via Appia about half a mile outside the Porta Capena, it passed through central Latium into northern Campania and at Casilinum on the Vulturnus again joined the Via Appia. — **sub**: *near;* but used in this sense only with names of places which are in an elevated position. — **biduo**: for the abl. see on 9, 3, 10 *quibus*. — **stativa**: see on 21, 35, 5.

3. **praeter Interamnam . . . agrum**: Interamna was on the Liris south of the road, which at this point runs almost due west; that Hannibal passed the town at a distance is indicated by the fact that the Liris is not mentioned till he reaches the neighborhood of Fregellae. Aquinum was on the road; Fregellae was a short distance to the north. The road crossed the Liris about six miles west of Aquinum.

4. **Fulvium**: proconsul and, according to Livy, one of the commanders of the Roman army at Capua, who, with 15,000 infantry and 1000 cavalry, was now hastening to Rome by the Via Appia. Polybius does not mention Fulvius as a commander at Capua,

ab Hannibale incensis, rates ad traiciendum exercitum in magna inopia materiae aegre conparantem. Traiecto ratibus exercitu relicum Fulvio expeditum iter non per urbes modo sed circa viam expositis benigne commeatibus erat, alacresque milites alius alium, ut adderet gradum memor ad defendendam iri patriam, hortabantur. Romam Fregellanus nuntius diem noctemque itinere continuato ingentem attulit terrorem; tumultuosius quam *quod* adlatum erat, *con*cursus hominum adfingentium vana auditis totam urbem concitat. Ploratus mulierum non ex privatis solum domibus exaudiebatur, sed undique matronae in publicum effusae circa deum delubra discurrunt, crinibus passis aras verrentes, nixae genibus, supinas manus ad caelum ac deos ten- 5 6 7 8

and says nothing of the withdrawal of this force. — **in**: for this use, indicating cause, cf. 1, 27, 7.

5. **circa**: *on both sides of*; cf. 9, 6, 4. — **adderet gradum**: a common idiom, meaning, literally, to add a step to the ordinary number, — *i.e.* to step more quickly.

6. **diem noctemque**: cf. 26, 27, 4 *nocte ac die continuatum incendium fuit*. Fregellae was about sixty miles from Rome. Polybius and Livy do not agree on this point. Polybius does not mention this messenger, but says that Hannibal appeared before the walls of Rome unexpected; that the Romans believed that he had destroyed their army at Capua. Livy, on the other hand, besides mentioning the warning from Fregellae, describes in chap. 8 the deliberations of the senate when they were informed by a letter from Capua that Hannibal was planning to advance upon Rome. — **tumultuosius**: qualifying *concitat*, and giving at the same time the result of the action of the verb; *i.e. stirs the city to greater confusion*. — **quod adlatum erat**: sc. *urbem concitaverat*; *i.e.* it was the crowd of people exaggerating the report, more than the report itself, which alarmed the city.

7. **ploratus mulierum**: see on 1, 29, 5; *ploratus* is used regularly of women and children; cf. 26, 13, 13. — **in publicum**: cf. 2, 23, 8 and see on 9, 7, 11. — **aras**: *i.e.* the foot or steps of the altars; cf. 3, 7, 8 *stratae passim matres crinibus templa verrentes*. — **nixae genibus**: the position for prayer differed in the various cults, but

dentes orantesque ut urbem Romanam e manibus hostium eriperent matresque Romanas et liberos parvos inviolatos
9 servarent. Senatus magistratibus in foro praesto est, si quid consulere velint. Alii accipiunt imperia discedunt que ad suas quisque officiorum partes, alii offerunt se, si quo usus operae sit. Praesidia in arce, in Capitolio, in muris, circa urbem, in monte etiam Albano atque arce Aefulana
10 ponuntur. Inter hunc tumultum Q. Fulvium proconsulem profectum cum exercitu Capua adfertur; cui ne minueretur imperium, si in urbem venisset, decernit senatus ut Q. Ful-
11 vio par cum consulibus imperium esset. Hannibal infestius [per populato agro Fregellano] propter intercisos pontis, per Frusinatem Ferentinatemque et Anagninum agrum in Labi-

this appears to have been the original Italian custom.

8. **supinas**: see on 3, 50, 5. — **urbem Romanam . . . matresque Romanas**: the repetition of the adj. gives greater emphasis than if the usual *urbem Romam* had been used; cf. 21, 35, 9.

9. **in foro**: *i.e.* in the Curia (cf. 27, 50, 4) or in the Senaculum, a place in or near the Comitium where the senators assembled before entering the senate-house. — **quid**: adv. acc. or, possibly, object of *consulere*; see on 2, 28, 2. — **si quo**: *if in any direction*. — **in arce, in Capitolio**: see on 5, 39, 9. — **monte . . . Albano**: about fifteen miles from Rome, between the Via Appia and the Via Latina. — **arce Aefulana**: probably a hill near the town of Aefula, about sixteen miles east of Rome.

10. **Fulvium**: see on § 4. — **Capua**: usually in Livy with the preposition; see on 1, 27, 4. — **cui . . . imperium**: the power of a proconsul was confined to the region to which he had been assigned; in Rome he was a private citizen. — **par cum consulibus**: for the brachylogy see on 2, 27, 4; cf. 10, 24, 16 *ut ita sortem aequam sibi cum collega dent*, and 30, 27, 5 *parique imperio cum P. Scipione imperatore esset*.

11. **Hannibal . . .** : resuming the narrative after the interruption of §§ 4–10. — **per Frusinatem . . . Labicanum**: these towns, — Frusino, Ferentinum, Anagnia, and Labici, — were all on or near the Via Latina. The last was about fifteen miles from Rome.

12. **Algido**: abl. of the way by which. Tusculum was on Mt.

canum venit. Inde Algido Tusculum petiit nec receptus 12
moenibus infra Tusculum dextrorsus Gabios descendit.
Inde in Pupiniam exercitu demisso octo milia passuum ab
Roma posuit castra. Quo propius hostis accedebat, eo 13
maior caedes fiebat fugientium praecedentibus Numidis,
pluresque omnium generum atque aetatium capiebantur.

10. In hoc tumultu Fulvius Flaccus porta Capena cum 1
exercitu Romam ingressus media urbe per Carinas Esquilias contendit; inde egressus inter Esquilinam Collinamque portam posuit castra. Aediles plebis commeatum eo con- 2
portarunt. Consules senatusque in castra venerunt. Ibi de summa re publica consultatum. Placuit consules circa portas Collinam Esquilinamque ponere castra, C. Calpur-

Algidus (cf. 3, 44, 2) about three miles southwest of Labici. At this point Hannibal leaves the Via Latina. — **moenibus**: locative ablative; cf. 9, 7, 9 *urbe tectisve*. — **infra**: rarely used with verbs of motion. — **Gabios**: on the Via Gabina or Praenestina about ten miles from Rome. — **Pupiniam**: a town of doubtful location, — according to Festus, p. 233, between Tusculum and Rome. — **demisso**: *led down*; cf. 9, 2, 9.

13. **aetatium**: for the form cf. 9, 17, 7.

10. 1. **porta Capena**: for the construction see on 26, 9, 12 *Algido*; so also *media urbe*. — **Carinas**: the western slope of the Oppian Hill, which is the southern part of the Esquiline. — **Esquilias**: for the construction see on 2, 28, 1. — **inde egressus**: by the Porta Esquilina, which was in the middle of the eastern side of the city at the southern end of the Servian *agger*. The Porta Collina was at the northeastern corner of the city at the northern end of the *agger*. The camp was between these gates outside the wall.

2. **aediles plebis**: see on 6, 42, 13. — **consules . . . venerunt**: a meeting of the senate in such a place was very unusual; the senate met regularly in the Curia or in some temple; for a similar irregularity see 45, 1, 8. — **de summa re publica**: *concerning the welfare of the state*; cf. 38, 50, 9. — **circa**: *near*; cf. 9, 2, 1. Polyb. 9, 6, 5 says that one consular army (two legions) had already been enrolled and the other was being enlisted on that very day.

nium praetorem urbanum Capitolio atque arci praeesse et senatum frequentem in foro contineri, si quid in tam subitis rebus consulto opus esset.

3 Inter haec Hannibal ad Anienem fluvium tria milia passuum ab urbe castra admovit. Ibi stativis positis ipse cum duobus milibus equitum ad portam Collinam usque ad Herculis templum est progressus atque, unde proxime poterat, 4 moenia situmque urbis obequitans contemplabatur. Id eum tam licenter atque otiose facere Flacco indignum visum est; itaque inmisit equites submoverique atque in castra 5 redigi hostium equitatum iussit. Cum commissum proelium esset, consules transfugas Numidarum, qui tum in Aventino ad mille et ducenti erant, media urbe transire 6 Esquilias iusserunt, nullos aptiores inter convalles tectaque

3. From this point through chap. 11 Livy's narrative is not supported by Polybius and Appian; they say only that Hannibal, having come close to the walls, departed, and on his departure was attacked by the consul, Sulpicius (or, according to Appian, by the proconsul, Fulvius). — **stativis**: see on 21, 35, 5. — **ad . . . usque ad**: *toward . . . as far as;* indicating respectively the general direction and the exact point. — **Herculis templum**: the exact location is doubtful, but during the construction of the building for the Ministry of Finance an inscription was found recording the restoration of the temple. Pliny 34, 32 says that Hannibal threw a spear over the wall.

5. **ad mille et ducenti**: *ad* is used adverbially without effect on the construction, when the hundreds are preceded by *mille* or *milia;* otherwise it is a preposition. — **Esquilias**: not object of the verb, but acc. of limit of motion, as in § 1. The Esquiline consists of a plateau with two projections toward the west, the northern being known as *Mons Cispius*, the southern as *Mons Oppius;* the greater part of the plateau was outside the Servian Wall, and it was to this part that the Numidians were sent to drive away the enemy's cavalry.

6. **convalles tectaque hortorum**: cf. 33, 6, 7 *magnum utrisque inpedimentum ad rem gerendam fuit ager consitus crebris arboribus hortique, ut in suburbanis locis, et coartata itinera maceriis et*

hortorum et sepulcra et cavas undique vias ad pugnandum futuros rati. Quos cum ex arce Capitolioque clivo Publicio in equis decurrentis quidam vidissent, captum Aventinum conclamaverunt. Ea res tantum tumultum ac fugam 7
praebuit, ut, nisi castra Punica extra urbem fuissent, effusura se omnis pavida multitudo fuerit; tunc in domos atque in tecta refugiebant vagosque in viis suos *pro* hostibus lapidibus telisque incessebant. Nec conprimi tumultus aperi- 8
rique error poterat refertis itineribus agrestium turba pecorumque, quae repentinus pavor in urbem conpulerat. Equestre proelium secundum fuit, submotique hostes sunt. 9
Et quia multis locis conprimendi tumultus erant, qui temere oriebantur, placuit omnes, qui dictatores, consules censoresve fuissent, cum imperio esse, donec recessisset a muris hostis. Et diei quod reliquum fuit et nocte insequenti 10
multi temere excitati tumultus sunt conpressique.

11. Postero die transgressus Anienem Hannibal in aciem 1
omnis copias eduxit; nec Flaccus consulesque certamen detrectavere. Instructis utrimque exercitibus in eius pugnae 2

quibusdam locis interclusa. Convalles were natural depressions. — **sepulcra**: the roads leading from the city were bordered with tombs for some distance outside the wall. — **cavas vias**: the adj. is not inappropriately applied either to a road inclosed between buildings or, as in this case, to one bordered by gardens and vineyards. The adv. *undique* is used attributively. — **ex arce Capitolioque**: connect with *vidissent*. — **clivo Publicio**: the road by which they descended from the Aventine to the Forum Boarium.

7. **fuerit**: subj. because it is a clause of result; see on 2, 1, 3. — **tunc**: *as it was;* see on 21, 34, 8. — **tecta**: buildings in general, as opposed to *domos*, *houses*. — **suos**: especially the *agrestes* of § 8.

9. **equestre proelium**: the one mentioned in § 5.

10. **quod reliquum fuit**: *the rest;* equivalent to an abl. parallel with *nocte*.

11. 1. **transgressus**: his camp, therefore, was on the right bank; cf. 26, 13, 11.

2. **in . . . casum**: expressing purpose; *to determine the result*

casum, in qua urbs Roma victori praemium esset, imber ingens grandine mixtus ita utramque aciem turbavit, ut vix armis retentis in castra sese receperint nullius rei minore 3 quam hostium metu. Et postero die eodem loco acies instructas eadem tempestas diremit. Vbi recepissent se in 4 castra, mira serenitas cum tranquillitate oriebatur. In religionem ea res apud Poenos versa est, auditaque vox Hannibalis fertur, potiundae sibi urbis Romae modo mentem non 5 dari, modo fortunam. Minuere etiam spem eius duae aliae, parva magnaque, res; magna illa, quod, cum ipse ad moenia urbis Romae armatus sederet, milites sub vexillis in supple- 6 mentum Hispaniae profectos audiit; parva autem, quod *per* eos dies eum forte agrum in quo ipse castra haberet venisse, nihil ob id deminuto pretio, cognitum ex quodam 7 captivo est. Id vero adeo superbum atque indignum visum, eius soli quod ipse bello captum possideret haberetque inventum Romae emptorem, ut extemplo vocato praecone

of the battle, *casum* indicating the uncertainty of the result; 4, 39, 3 *tendunt in quemcumque casum*. — **receperint**: for the tense see on 1, 3, 4 *ausi sint*.

3. **recepissent**: iterative; see on 3, 36, 8.

4. **in religionem . . . versa est**: *i.e.* was explained as a warning from the gods; for the meaning of *religio* cf. 5, 40, 8 and 10. — **mentem**: *idea*, *inclination*.

5. **sub vexillis**: the *vexillum* was a piece of cloth hanging from a horizontal bar attached to a pole. It was the regular standard of veterans retained in the service and of detachments assigned to a special duty; here either in the latter sense, or, since in the republican period *vexilla* were sometimes attached to *signa*, referring to the ordinary standards of the maniples. — **in supplementum Hispaniae**: *to fill up the quota for Spain*; with this use of *in* cf. § 2 *in . . . casum*. *Hispaniae* is dat. of interest, taking the place of the more usual construction with *supplementum*, *in* with acc., to avoid repetition.

7. **indignum**: see on 22, 45, 4. — **possideret**: *held*; **haberet**: *owned*; cf. 21, 43, 6. The two words, together with *captum*, form a logical climax. — **praecone**: to

tabernas argentarias, quae circa forum Romanum essent, iusserit venire.] His motus ad Tutiam fluvium castra 8
rettulit sex milia passuum ab urbe. Inde ad lucum Feroniae pergit ire, templum ea tempestate inclutum divitiis. Capenates aliique *qui* accolae eius erant, primitias frugum 9
eo donaque alia pro copia portantes, multo auro argentoque id exornatum habebant. Iis omnibus donis tum spoliatum templum. Aeris acervi, cum rudera milites religione inducti iacerent, post profectionem Hannibalis magni

serve as auctioneer. — **tabernas**: see on 3, 48, 5. — **circa**: as the *tabernae argentariae* were on only the north side of the Forum, *circa* must mean here *along* or *by the side of*, as in 5, 38, 8; cf. 45, 2, 8.

8. **Tutiam**: the location is doubtful; possibly it was a small stream, known in the Middle Ages as *Tuzia*, flowing into the Anio about six miles from Rome; on the other hand, Sil. Ital. 13, 5 says that the *Turia* flowed into the Tiber. — **Feroniae**: a goddess of flowers and of the emancipation of slaves, worshiped by Sabines, Etruscans, and Latins; she had a famous shrine in southeastern Etruria at the foot of Mt. Soracte. — **pergit ire**: see on 9, 2, 8. — **templum**: in app. with *locum*, justified by the fact that the temple was the chief thing in the grove.

9. **Capenates**: the town of Capena was near Mt. Soracte. — **accolae eius**: sc. *templi*; *neighbors of the temple*. — **pro copia**: *according to their ability*. — **id**: somewhat harsh, following *eius* and the adv. *eo*. — **exornatum habebant**: *i.e.* they possessed it, embellished, etc. The meaning is quite different from that which *exornaverant* would have given; but see on 21, 40, 5 *capta . . . habetis*. Sil. Ital. 13, 86 says of this temple, *fama est intactas longaevi ab origine fani crevisse . . . inmensum per tempus opes*. — **spoliatum**: supporting Livy's description of Hannibal in 21, 4, 9 *nihil sancti*. — **cum . . . iacerent**: *as the soldiers, affected by remorse, threw in masses of copper*. — **rudera**: these were shapeless lumps of copper, such as were used in the earliest times for money; in a later form, still rude but of more definite shape, they were called *aes rude*, in distinction from *aes signatum*, coined money. This offering of *rudera* or *aes rude* to the gods was a custom which survived long after they had gone out of use as money. Whether or not Livy is ironical in *religione inducti* is doubtful, but he can hardly have failed to note the absurdity of the

10 inventi. Huius populatio templi haud dubia inter scriptores est. Coelius Romam euntem ab Ereto devertisse eo Hannibalem tradit iterque eius ab Reate Cutiliisque et
11 ab Amiterno orditur; ex Campania in Samnium, inde in Paelignos pervenisse praeterque oppidum Sulmonem in Marrucinos transisse, inde Albensi agro in Marsos, hinc
12 Amiternum Forulosque vicum venisse. Neque ibi error est, quod tanti *ducis tanti*que exercitus vestigia intra tam brevis aevi memoriam potuerint confundi — isse enim ea
13 constat —, tantum id interest, veneritne eo itinere ad urbem, an ab urbe in Campaniam redierit.

unfair exchange effected by the soldiers.

10. **Coelius**: see *Introd.* 4. Livy means that Coelius is the only one who maintains that Hannibal visited the temple on his way to Rome. — **ab Ereto**: for this use of the prep. see on 1, 27, 4. Eretum was about seventeen miles northeast of Rome. — **eo**: to the temple. — **iterque . . . orditur**: *i.e.* according to Coelius, starting from Amiternum, he went to Cutiliae and Reate, and from there to Eretum. Livy names the places in inverse order. They are all in the Sabine country, Amiternum near its eastern border. — **Reate Cutiliisque**: this close connection and the omission of the prep. with *Cutiliis* are due to the fact that it was included in the domain of Reate; cf. § 11 *Amiternum Forulosque*.

11. **ex Campania . . .**: the route from Capua to Amiternum, as given by Coelius, is here described. — **Sulmonem**: in the country of the Paeligni. — **in Marrucinos**: it would be difficult to discover a reason for such a circuitous course and particularly for this digression into the country of the Marrucini on the eastern coast of Italy. — **Albensi . . . Marsos**: *i.e.* back again to the west through the country of the Paeligni into that of the Marsi by way of the town of Alba Fucens. There is confusion here, as this town is west of the Marsi in the country of the Aequi. — **Forulos**: probably a few miles southwest of Amiternum.

12. **ibi** = *in ea re*; cf. 3, 49, 3. — **error**: *uncertainty*; cf. 1, 24, 1. — **brevis aevi**: Coelius wrote in the latter part of the second century B.C., about a century after the events here described. — **confundi**: *effaced*.

13. **in Campaniam**: according to 26, 12, 3 and Polyb. 9, 7 Hannibal did not return to Campania.

12. Ceterum non quantum Romanis pertinaciae ad premendam obsidione Capuam fuit, tantum ad defendendam Hannibali. Namque *per Samnium Apuliamque* et Lucanos in Bruttium agrum ad fretum ac Regium eo cursu contendit, ut prope repentino adventu incautos oppresserit. Capua etsi nihilo segnius obsessa per eos dies fuerat, tamen adventum Flacci sensit, et admiratio orta est non simul regressum Hannibalem. Inde per conloquia intellexerunt relictos se desertosque et spem Capuae retinendae deploratam apud Poenos esse. Accessit edictum proconsulis ex senatus consulto propositum vulgatumque apud hostis, ut qui civis Campanus ante certam diem transisset, sine fraude esset. Nec ulla facta est transitio, metu magis eos quam fide continente, quia maiora in defectione deliquerant

Livy evidently speaks carelessly here, thinking of southern Italy.

12–14. References: App. *Hann.* 43. Ihne, 2, 340–345. Mommsen, 2, 339–340. Arnold, *Second Punic War*, 174–180.

12. 2. Regium: this town had remained loyal to Rome and had repulsed the repeated attacks of Hannibal. — **eo cursu**: *so rapidly.*

3. **per eos dies**: during the absence of Flaccus. — **sensit**: *felt;* because the siege was prosecuted with renewed energy.

4. **deploratam**: for the meaning see on 5, 40, 6.

5. **proconsulis**: Flaccus; he had secured the passage of the decree when he was in Rome. Flaccus was practically in sole command of the Roman army before Capua, as his colleague, Appius Claudius, had been wounded during the siege. — **civis Campanus**: the inhabitants of the surrounding country were citizens of Capua and many had taken refuge within the walls of the capital; 25, 22, 11 *consulibus litterae a P. Cornelio praetore missae, ut, priusquam clauderent Capuam operibus, potestatem Campanis facerent, ut qui eorum vellent exirent a Capua suasque res secum ferrent: liberos fore suaque omnia habituros.* — **transisset**: to the Romans. — **fraude**: injury, as a result of deception; *might be confident of safety.*

6. **nec**: *but not;* cf. 1, 27, 1. — **metu**: of the Romans; **fide**: loyalty to Capua. — **quia . . . posset**: *because in their revolt they had*

7 quam quibus ignosci posset. Ceterum quem ad modum
nemo privato consilio ad hostem transibat, ita nihil salu-
8 tare in medium consulebatur. Nobilitas rem publicam
deseruerant neque in senatum cogi poterant; in magistratu
erat qui non sibi honorem adiecisset, sed indignitate sua
vim ac ius magistratui quem gerebat dempsisset; iam ne
9 in foro quidem aut publico loco principum quisquam
adparebat; domibus inclusi patriae occasum cum suo
10 exitio in dies expectabant; summa curae omnis in Bos-
tarem Hannonemque, praefectos praesidi Punici, versa
11 erat, suo, non sociorum periculo sollicitos. Ii conscriptis
ad Hannibalem litteris non libere modo sed etiam aspere,
quibus non Capuam solam traditam in manum hostibus,
sed se quoque *et* praesidium in omnis cruciatus proditos
12 incusabant: abisse eum in Bruttios velut avertentem sese,
ne Capua in oculis eius caperetur; at hercule Romanos ne
oppugnatione quidem urbis Romanae abstrahi a Capua

committed crimes too great to be forgiven. Capua had revolted to Hannibal in 216, after the battle of Cannae; see 26, 13, 5 f.

7. **quem ad modum . . . ita**: for the usual *ut . . . ita.* — **in medium**: *for the general good.*

8. **deseruerant**: for the number see on 21, 27, 9. — **magistratu**: *i.e.* the highest magistracy, the incumbent being called by the Capuans *medix tuticus.* The man who then held the office, Seppius Loesius, is described in 26, 6, 13 ff. — **qui . . . adiecisset . . . dempsisset**: clauses of characteristic.

9. **domibus**: the common construction with *includo* in Livy, though he uses also *in* with the ablative and *in* with the accusative.

10. **summa curae omnis . . . versa erat**: *the administration of all business had fallen upon*; for this use of *summa* cf. 21, 1, 1.

11. **ii**: the insertion of the contents of the letter causes this word to be forgotten, and it is left without predicate. — **libere**: *outspoken.* — **hostibus**: depending upon the whole expression, *traditam in manum.* — **in . . . cruciatus proditos**: cf. 22, 44, 7.

12. **in oculis**: Livy uses also *ante oculos* and *sub oculis* in the same sense.

obsidenda potuisse; tanto constantiorem inimicum Ro- 13
manum quam amicum Poenum esse. Si redeat Capuam
bellumque omne eo vertat, et se et Campanos paratos
eruptioni fore. Non cum Reginis neque Tarentinis bel- 14
lum gesturos transisse Alpis; ubi Romanae legiones sint,
ibi et Carthaginiensium exercitus debere esse. Sic ad
Cannas, sic ad Trasumennum rem bene gestam coeundo
conferundoque cum hoste castra, fortunam temptando. In 15
hanc sententiam litterae conscriptae Numidis proposita
mercede eam professis operam dantur. Ii specie trans-
fugarum cum ad Flaccum in castra venissent, ut inde
tempore capto abirent, famesque, quae iam diu Capuae
erat, nulli non probabilem causam transitionis faceret,
mulier repente Campana in castra venit, scortum trans- 16
fugarum unius, indicatque imperatori Romano Numidas
fraude conposita transisse litterasque ad Hannibalem

14. **Tarentinis**: Tarentum was betrayed into the hands of Hannibal in 212. The Roman garrison, which still held the citadel, was besieged by the Carthaginians for two years, until it was relieved by the Roman general, Fabius, who besieged and took the city. — **gesturos**: this use of the fut. part. with a verb of motion to express purpose is common in Livy, but is found only once in Cicero and not at all in Caesar. — **Romanae legiones**: the order is unusual but gives the required emphasis. — **cum hoste**: connect with *coeundo* as well as with *conferundo*; with the latter verb it is a case of brachylogy for *cum castris hostium*; see on 2, 27, 4. For *conferundo castra* cf. 27, 47, 6.

15. **in hanc sententiam**: cf. 21, 28, 7 *pontis in modum*. — **eam professis operam**: *who had volunteered for this work*. — **tempore capto**: *when they found opportunity*; cf. 3, 9, 7 *insidiatum eum et tempore capto adortum rem publicam*. — **nulli . . . faceret**: *made their reason for desertion seem to every one plausible*.

16. **transfugarum unius**: the gen. with *unus* occurs often in Livy; also *ex* with the abl., as in § 17. — **fraude conposita**: *i.e.* they had previously agreed upon a course of action.

17 ferre: id unum ex iis, qui sibi rem aperuisset, arguere sese paratam esse. Productus primo satis constanter ignorare se mulierem simulabat; paulatim dein convictus veris, cum tormenta posci et parari videret, fassus id ita esse, litterae-
18 que prolatae, et additum etiam indicio, quod celabatur, et alios specie transfugarum Numidas vagari in castris Ro-
19 manis. Ii supra septuaginta conprensi et cum transfugis novis mulcati virgis manibusque praecisis Capuam rediguntur. Conspectum tam triste supplicium fregit animos Campanorum.

13. Concursus ad curiam populi factus coegit Loesium senatum vocare; et primoribus, qui iam diu publicis consiliis aberant, propalam minabantur, nisi venirent in senatum, circa domos eorum ituros se et in publicum omnis vi extracturos esse. Is timor frequentem senatum magistra-
2 tui praebuit. Ibi cum ceteri de legatis mittendis ad imperatores Romanos agerent, Vibius Virrius, qui defectionis
3 auctor ab Romanis fuerat, interrogatus sententiam negat

17. **id unum**: two accusatives with *arguere, to accuse*. — **fassus**: sc. *est*.

18. **etiam**: emphasizing the fact that this was an unexpected addition. The subject of *additum* (*est*) is the clause *et alios . . . Romanis*, which is also the antecedent of *quod*.

19. **manibusque praecisis**: a Carthaginian spy found in Rome in 217 was treated in the same way.

13. 1. **concursus . . . coegit**: cf. 26, 9, 6. — **ad curiam**: connect with *concursus factus; a crowd gathered at the senate-house*; cf. 22, 7, 6. — **consiliis**: with *abesse*, in the sense *to be absent*, Livy sometimes uses the abl. alone (cf. the common formula in 9, 19, 15), when the substantive is not of strictly local meaning; in the latter sense, except where *procul* is used, he has the abl. with the preposition. — **circa domos**: cf. 21, 49, 7 *circa civitates missi legati*; 27, 51, 7. — **in publicum**: see on 2, 23, 8. — **is timor**: *fear of this*; see on 21, 46, 7.

2. **auctor**: his argument is given in 23, 6, 1 f. — **ab Romanis**: used attributively with *defectionis*; cf. 27, 45, 8 *ex hostibus* and see on 1,

eos, qui de legatis et de pace ac deditione loquantur, meminisse nec quid facturi fuerint, si Romanos in potestate habuissent, nec quid ipsis patiendum sit. "Quid! vos" 4
inquit "eam deditionem fore censetis, qua quondam, ut adversus Samnites auxilium impetraremus, nos nostraque omnia Romanis dedidimus? Iam e memoria excessit, quo 5
tempore et in qua fortuna a populo Romano defecerimus? iam, quem ad modum in defectione praesidium, quod poterat emitti, per cruciatum et ad contumeliam necarimus? quotiens in obsidentis quam inimice eruperimus, castra 6
oppugnarimus, Hannibalem vocaverimus ad opprimendos eos? hoc quod recentissimum est, ad oppugnandam Romam hinc eum miserimus? Age contra, quae illi in- 7
feste in nos fecerint repetite, ut ex eo quid speretis habeatis. Cum hostis alienigena *in* Italia esset, et Hannibal hostis, et cuncta bello arderent, omissis omnibus, omisso ipso

25, 11. — **interrogatus**: *rogare* is more usual in this connection.

3. **facturi fuerint**: representing *facturi fuerunt*; see on 2, 1, 3.

4. **eam** = *talem*. — **dedidimus**: see 7, 30, 17 ff.

5. **quo tempore**: cf. 2, 23, 5 *iniquo suo tempore*. — **in qua fortuna**: sc. *populi Romani*; referring in general to the war with Hannibal, and particularly to the recent defeat at Cannae. The prep. is rarely used in phrases of this sort; but cf. 38, 50, 1 *dimittitur senatus in ea opinione*. — **in defectione . . . necarimus**: see 26, 12, 6; 23, 7, 3 *nam praefectos socium civisque Romanos alios, partim aliquo militiae munere occupatos, partim privatis negotiis inplicitos, plebs repente omnis conprehensos velut custodiae causa balneis includi iussit, ubi fervore atque aestu anima interclusa foedum in modum expirarunt*. The murder of the Roman garrison is mentioned again in 31, 31, 12.

6. **quotiens . . . eruperimus**: two indirect questions are here combined.—**hoc**: nom., subject of *e memoria excessit*, anticipating the next question, with which *quam inimice* must be supplied.

7. **age**: see on 2, 29, 11. — **repetite**: sc. *memoria*, which is rarely omitted when the verb is used in this sense. — **ut . . . habeatis**: *that you may have some-*

Hannibale, ambo consules et duo consulares exercitus ad
8 Capuam oppugnandam miserunt. Alterum annum circumvallatos inclusosque nos fame macerant, et ipsi nobiscum ultima pericula et gravissimos labores perpessi, circa vallum ac fossas saepe trucidati ac prope ad extremum castris
9 exuti. Sed omitto haec; vetus atque usitata res est in oppugnanda hostium urbe labores ac pericula pati. Illud irae
10 atque odi execrabilis *inexpiabilis*que indicium est: Hannibal ingentibus copiis peditum equitumque castra oppugnavit et ex parte cepit; tanto periculo nihil moti sunt ab obsidione; profectus trans Vulturnum perussit Calenum
11 agrum; nihil tanta sociorum clade avocati sunt; ad ipsam urbem Romam infesta signa ferri iussit; eam quoque tempestatem inminentem spreverunt; transgressus Anienem amnem tria milia passum ab urbe castra posuit, postremo ad moenia ipsa et ad portas accessit, Romam se adempturum eis, nisi omitterent Capuam, ostendit; non omise-

thing to hope from that. — **consulares exercitus**: a consular army consisted of two legions, each with its contingent of allied infantry and cavalry. There was also before Capua a third army of two legions commanded by C. Claudius Nero, propraetor.

8. **alterum annum**: *i.e.* the second year was now in progress. — **ac . . . exuti**: *ac* is often used to introduce the last and most important word in a series. For the apparent anticlimax, *trucidati . . . exuti*, see on 21, 43, 14. — **prope**: connect with *exuti*. — **exuti**: used in the same sense in 2, 23, 6.

9. **execrabilis**: used here in an active sense; hatred that contains a curse; 31, 17, 9 *praeeuntibus execrabile carmen sacerdotibus*.

10. **ingentibus . . . equitumque**: he had, however, left all his heavy-armed troops in Bruttium. — **ex parte cepit**: this is an exaggeration; in 26, 5, 11 Livy says *cohors Hispanorum cum tribus elephantis usque ad vallum pervasit ruperatque mediam aciem Romanorum et in ancipiti spe ac periculo erat, utrum in castra perrumperet an intercluderetur a suis*.

12. The argument is this: the Romans like wild beasts were assailing Capua; but they were even

runt. Feras bestias, caeco impetu ac rabie concitatas, si 12
ad cubilia et catulos earum ire pergas, ad opem suis fe-
rendam avertas; Romanos Roma circumsessa, coniuges, 13
liberi, quorum ploratus hinc prope exaudiebantur, arae,
foci, deum delubra, sepulcra maiorum temerata ac violata
a Capua non averterunt; tanta aviditas supplici expetendi,
tanta sanguinis nostri hauriendi est sitis. Nec iniuria for- 14
sitan; nos quoque idem fecissemus, si data fortuna esset.
Itaque quoniam aliter dis inmortalibus est visum, cum mor-
tem ne recusare quidem debeam, cruciatus contumeliasque,
quas parat hostis, dum liber, dum mei potens sum, effugere
morte, praeterquam honesta, etiam leni possum. Non 15
videbo Ap. Claudium et Q. Fulvium victoria insolenti
subnixos neque vinctus per urbem Romanam triumphi
spectaculum trahar, ut deinde in carcere *expi*rem aut *ad*
palum deligatus lacerato virgis tergo cervicem securi Ro-
manae subiciam; nec dirui incendique patriam videbo nec

more savage and more persistent than beasts, which was proved by the fact that they did not leave Capua to defend their homes. — **ire pergas**: cf. 9, 2, 8.

13. **ploratus**: see on 26, 9, 7. — **foci**: Porp. on Hor. *Epod.* 2, 43 *ara deorum penatium est focus* — **sepulcra maiorum**: in the same class as the shrines of the gods, since ancestors were more or less definitely deified and their tombs were sanctuaries for their worship. — **temerata**: used only here by Livy. — **sanguinis hauriendi**: see 9, 1, 9.

14. **quoniam**: introducing as a reason an accomplished fact, whereas the following *cum* clause is concessive. — **ne recusare quidem**: *by no means to avoid; i.e.* though I must die in any case. *ne . . . quidem* has a somewhat unusual sense. — **honesta . . . leni**: chiastically referring to *cruciatus contumeliasque.*

15. **Ap. Claudium**: see on 26, 12, 5. — **subnixos**: *exulting in.* — **carcere**: the triumphal procession marched along the Sacra Via, and, when it reached the foot of the Clivus Capitolinus, some of the principal captives were taken to the *carcer* at the northwest corner of the Forum and put to death; on the announcement of their death

rapi ad stuprum matres Campanas virginesque et ingenuos
16 pueros. Albam, unde ipsi oriundi erant, a fundamentis
proruerunt, ne stirpis, ne memoria originum suarum ex-
taret; nedum eos Capuae parsuros credam, cui infestiores
17 quam Carthagini sunt. Itaque quibus vestrum ante fato
cedere quam haec tot tam acerba videant, in animo est, iis
18 apud me hodie epulae instructae parataeque sunt. Satiatis
vino ciboque poculum idem quod mihi datum fuerit, cir-
cumferetur; ea potio corpus a cruciatu, animum a con-
tumeliis, oculos, auris a videndis audiendisque omnibus
acerbis indignisque, quae manent victos, vindicabit. Pa-
rati erunt qui magno rogo in propatulo aedium accenso
19 corpora exanima iniciant. Haec una via et honesta et
libera ad mortem. Et ipsi virtutem mirabuntur hostes, et
Hannibal fortis socios sciet ab se desertos ac proditos
esse."

1 **14.** Hanc orationem Virri plures cum adsensu audierunt
quam forti animo id quod probabant exsequi potuerunt;

sacrifice was offered before the temple of Jupiter. — **patriam**: *native city*; cf. 1, 1, 8.

16. **Albam . . . proruerunt**: see 1, 29, 6. — **a fundamentis**: the expression occurs again in 42, 63, 11 and 42, 67, 9; cf. 9, 34, 19 *gens . . . ab stirpe extincta est.* — **stirpis**: nom., as in 1, 1, 11, but the meaning of the word is different in that passage. Here it is the *stem*, the ancestral stock, which would glory in the fact of Rome's birth from itself; *memoria*, on the other hand, is subjective; they themselves wished to forget that they were an Alban colony. — **originum**: for the plural cf. *Praef.* 4.

17. **tot tam**: cf. 30, 30, 7. — **videant**: for Livy's usage with *antequam* and *priusquam* cf. 9, 8, 7; 22, 3, 10; 22, 49, 10.

18. **datum fuerit**: see on 1, 2, 1. — **oculos, auris**: for the asyndeton see on 5, 48, 6. — **propatulo**: apparently sometimes synonymous with *atrium*; here, the space before the house; see on 5, 41, 8 *vestibulis*.

19. **libera**: not *unobstructed*, but *fit for a freeman*; cf. § 14 *liber*. — **desertos ac proditos**: cf. 26, 12, 4.

maior pars senatus, multis saepe bellis expertam populi 2
Romani clementiam haud diffidentes sibi quoque placabilem fore, legatos ad dedendam Romanis Capuam decreverunt miseruntque. Vibium Virrium septem et viginti 3
ferme senatores domum secuti sunt epulatique cum eo et, quantum facere potuerant alienatis mentibus vino ab inminentis sensu mali, venenum omnes sumpserunt; inde 4
misso convivio, dextris inter se datis ultimoque conplexu, conlacrimantes suum patriaeque casum alii, ut eodem rogo cremarentur, manserunt, alii domos digressi sunt. Inpletae cibis vinoque venae minus efficacem in maturanda 5
morte vim veneni fecerunt; itaque noctem totam plerique eorum et diei insequentis partem cum animam egissent, omnes tamen prius quam aperirentur hostibus portae, expirarunt.

Postero die porta Iovis, quae adversus castra Romana 6

14. 2. **multis saepe bellis**: *saepe* has been explained as referring to the numerous instances in each war; it seems better, however, to regard it as a mere repetition of the idea of plurality; *often in many wars;* cf. 21, 4, 7. — **placabilem**: grammatically but not logically connected with *clementiam;* if translated literally, it must be referred to the Romans, who practised *clementia.* For the thought cf. 25, 16, 12 *veteri delicto haud inplacabilis fore Romanos; nullam umquam gentem magis exorabilem promptioremque veniae dandae fuisse.*

3. **facere**: the inf. is usually omitted; see 5, 47, 6. — **ab . . . sensu**: cf. 5, 42, 8; with *alienare* the abl. without the prep. is used, *e.g.* in 25, 39, 4; and the dat. in 44, 27, 8 *Gentium regem sibi alienavit.* For another use of *alienare* cf. 3, 48, 1.

4. **misso convivio**: cf. the common phrase *mittere senatum* and 21, 54, 3 *praetorium missum.* — **datis**: connect with *conplexu* as well as with *dextris.*

5. **cibis**: for the case cf. 1, 2, 5 *fama;* Livy uses also the gen. with *inpleo*, but only of abstract nouns. — **cum**: for the position see on 21, 34, 4. — **animam egissent**: in 3, 6, 8 *trahebat animam* is used in the same sense.

6. **castra Romana**: according to 25, 22, 8 there were three Roman camps; the camp of the procon-

erat, iussu proconsulis aperta est. Ea intromissa legio
7 una et duae alae cum C. Fulvio legato. Is cum omnium primum arma telaque quae Capuae erant ad se conferenda curasset, custodiis ad omnes portas dispositis, ne quis exire aut emitti posset, praesidium Punicum conprehendit, senatum Campanum ire in castra ad imperatores
8 Romanos iussit. Quo cum venissent, extemplo iis omnibus catenae iniectae, iussique ad quaestores deferre quod auri atque argenti haberent. Auri pondo duo milia septuaginta fuit, argenti triginta milia pondo et mille ducenta.
9 Senatores quinque et viginti Cales in custodiam, duodetriginta Teanum missi, quorum de sententia maxime descitum ab Romanis constabat.

Book XXVII

Battle of the Metaurus River

1 43. Inter haec ab Hasdrubale, postquam a Placentiae
207 B.C. obsidione abscessit, quattuor Galli equites, duo Numidae

sul, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, is meant. According to one tradition Ap. Claudius died just before the end of the siege. — **ea**: abl.; cf. 26, 10, 1 *porta Capena*. — **alae**: squadrons of allied cavalry. — **C. Fulvio**: brother of the proconsul.

7. **arma telaque**: defensive and offensive arms; see on 1, 25, 4. — **exire aut emitti**: *i.e.* escape or be sent out, possibly on a mission to Hannibal or to seek other aid. — **in castra ad imperatores**: see on 5, 47, 7.

8. **quaestores**: see on 9, 5, 4. — **deferre**: *to report*. — **auri . . . fuit**: the singular verb may be explained by supplying a subject *pondus* (*weight*) and taking *pondo* (*pounds*) as ablative. The indeclinable noun *pondo* is elsewhere used more simply as a nom. plural with a plural verb. The gold pound was worth about $225, the silver pound about $15. — **mille**: this separation of the smaller number of thousands is unusual.

9. **Cales . . . Teanum**: these two towns had remained loyal to Rome.

cum litteris missi ad Hannibalem cum per medios hostes totam ferme longitudinem Italiae emensi essent, dum Metapontum cedentem Hannibalem sequuntur, incertis itineribus Tarentum delati a vagis per agros pabulatoribus Romanis ad Q. Claudium propraetorem deducuntur. Eum primo incertis inplicantes responsis, ut metus tormentorum admotus fateri vera coegit, edocuerunt litteras se ab Hasdrubale ad Hannibalem ferre. Cum iis litteris sicut erant signatis L. Verginio tribuno militum ducendi ad Clau-

Book XXVII. **43–51.** References: Polyb. 11, 1–3. App. *Hann.* 52. Ihne, 2, 387–394. Mommsen, 2, 346–349. Arnold, *Second Punic War*, 282–294. Dodge, *Hannibal*, 546–560.

43. 1. **inter haec**: since the fall of Capua, Hannibal had remained in southern Italy; he won several battles against Roman generals, but, on the whole, accomplished little, and his position was weakened by the loss of Tarentum in 209. His brother Hasdrubal, having been defeated in Spain by Scipio at the battle of Baecula in 208, marched rapidly through Gaul and over the Alps into Italy. — **ab Hasdrubale**: this phrase in its conspicuous position serves to transfer the scene from southern to northern Italy. — **a Placentiae obsidione**: he had attempted to take the place by storm; he had not time for a long siege, as he was anxious to join Hannibal at the earliest possible moment. — **cum**: for the position of the conjunction see on 21, 34, 4.

2. **Metapontum**: Hannibal had been recently defeated by the consul, C. Claudius Nero, near Grumentum in Lucania. From there he escaped to Venusia and thence to Metapontum. Having sent a recruiting force from there into Bruttium, he himself returned to Venusia, and then proceeded to Canusium in Apulia. In all these movements he was followed by the Roman consul. — **incertis itineribus**: *i.e.* they were easily deceived because of their ignorance of the road. — **Tarentum**: now held by the Romans; see on 26, 12, 14. — **a . . . Romanis**: connect with *delati*.

3. **eum . . . inplicantes**: *after trying to perplex him*; the present participle refers to a time which is past with reference to the principal verb; cf. 40, 55, 7 *negantem*. — **metus . . . admotus**: cf. 6, 10, 3 *populationibus agri terror est oppidanis admotus*; 40, 55, 5.

4. **sicut erant**: *i.e.* the seal was not broken.

5 dium consulem traduntur; duae simul turmae Samnitium praesidi causa missae. Qui ubi ad consulem pervenerunt litteraeque lectae per interpretem sunt et ex captivis per-
6 cunctatio facta, tum Claudius non id tempus esse rei publicae ratus, quo consiliis ordinariis provinciae suae quisque finibus per exercitus suos cum hoste destinato ab senatu
7 bellum gereret; audendum ac novandum aliquid inprovisum, inopinatum, quod coeptum non minorem apud cives quam hostes terrorem faceret, perpetratum in magnam
8 laetitiam ex magno metu verteret; litteris Hasdrubalis Romam ad senatum missis simul et ipse patres conscriptos quid pararet edocet: ut, cum in Vmbria se occursu-
9 rum Hasdrubal fratri scribat, legionem a Capua Romam arcessant, dilectum Romae habeant, exercitum urbanum
10 ad Narniam hosti opponant. Haec senatu scripta. Prae-

6. Claudius: subject of *edocet* in § 8. — **provinciae**: connect with *finibus*. 27, 35, 10 *provinciae iis non permixtae regionibus, sicut superioribus annis, sed diversae extremis Italiae finibus, alteri adversus Hannibalem Bruttii, Lucani, alteri Gallia adversus Hasdrubalem, quem iam Alpibus adpropinquare fama erat, decreta.* 27, 38, 9 *senatus liberam potestatem consulibus fecit et supplendi unde vellent, et eligendi de omnibus exercitibus quos vellent permutandique et ex provinciis quo e re publica censerent esse traducendi.* Ordinarily the magistrate or general was not allowed to leave his province without special permission. — **gereret**: subj. of characteristic.

7. novandum: *originated.* — **verteret**: transitive; sc. *cives*.

8. simul et ipse: *i.e.* he sent a letter of his own at the same time, setting forth his plan. — **patres conscriptos**: regularly used in direct address, but occasionally, as here, where there is reference to a direct address; 10, 45, 5 *obtestabantur patres conscriptos*; 22, 37, 4 *patres conscriptos orare*; 30, 42, 14 *monendo patres conscriptos*. — **pararet**: for the tense see on 1, 28, 1. — **edocet**: introducing the ind. quest. and, in a somewhat different sense, the following object clauses. — **fratri**: connect with *occursurum* and *scribat*.

9. legionem ... arcessant: to guard the city, as the force then in the city (*exercitum urbanum*)

missi item per agrum Larinatem, Marrucinum, Frentanum, Praetutianum, qua exercitum ducturus erat, ut omnes ex agris urbibusque commeatus paratos militi ad vescendum in viam deferrent, equos iumentaque alia producerent, ut vehiculorum fessis copia esset. Ipse de toto exercitu 11
civium sociorumque quod roboris erat delegit, sex milia peditum, mille equites; pronuntiat occupare se in Lucanis proximam urbem Punicumque in ea praesidium velle: ut ad iter parati omnes essent. Profectus nocte flexit in Picenum. 12

Et consul quidem quantis maximis itineribus poterat ad collegam ducebat, relicto Q. Catio legato qui castris praeesset.

44. Romae haud minus terroris ac tumultus erat quam 1
fuerat biennio ante, cum castra Punica obiecta Romanis

was to be sent with the new levy into Umbria. The object was to protect Rome if Hasdrubal should succeed in forcing his way through.

10. **senatu**: for this dat. form cf. 7, 2, 7. — **praemissi**: sc. *sunt*; *messengers were sent ahead to announce*. — **Larinatem . . . Praetutianum**: another instance of Livy's geographical carelessness (see on 9, 19, 4); Larinum is included in the territory of the Frentani; the Marrucini, moreover, lived north of the Frentani. The Praetutii occupied the southern part of Picenum. Sil. Ital. 15, 568 mentions these places in the same order, following Livy or Livy's source, who was probably Coelius. — **ducturus erat**: sc. *Claudius*. — **paratos**: *i.e.* all ready to be eaten. — **alia**: see on 21, 27, 5. The army carried almost nothing but its arms; see 27, 46, 2.

11. **delegit**: see 27, 38, 9 quoted in note on § 6. — **sex milia . . . mille**: according to Frontinus 1, 1, 9 there were in all ten thousand, but he was thinking, perhaps, of the army after it had been increased by volunteers along the line of march; see 27, 46, 3.

12. **flexit**: in this intrans. sense first used by Livy in prose. — **in Picenum**: *toward Picenum*. — **quantis maximis**: see on 9, 10, 10. It was Nero's purpose to meet Hasdrubal before Hannibal should arrive, even if the latter should immediately escape from the army which still opposed him.

44. 1. **biennio**: a mistake of Livy or a copyist; Hannibal had encamped near Rome in 211, four

moenibus portisque fuerant. Neque satis constabat animis, tam audax iter consulis laudarent vituperarentne; adparebat, quo nihil iniquius est, ex eventu famam habiturum: 2 castra prope Hannibalem hostem relicta sine duce, cum exercitu, cui detractum foret omne quod roboris, quod floris fuerit, et consulem in Lucanos ostendisse iter, cum 3 Picenum et Galliam peteret, castra relinquentem nulla alia re tutiora quam errore hostis, qui ducem inde atque exerci- 4 tus partem abesse ignoraret. Quid futurum, si id palam fiat, et aut insequi Neronem cum sex milibus armatorum profectum Hannibal toto exercitu velit aut castra invadere praedae relicta sine viribus, sine imperio, sine auspicio?

years before. — **fuerant**: a statement of fact rather than a mere expression of time; hence the indicative. The use of the plup. instead of the imperf. is justified by the fact that the writer retains the same point of view, *i.e.* the year 207, and does not allow the tense to be affected by the preceding *fuerat*. — **animis**: cf. 30, 28, 1 *nec satis certum constare apud animos poterat*. — **vituperarentne**: double indirect questions, with *-ne* only in the second member are very rare; 2, 40, 5 *sciam . . . captiva materne in castris tuis sim*; 5, 28, 5 *in incerto fuerit . . . vicissent victine essent*; 27, 47, 3. In the following sections four reasons for fear are given, — the dangerous position of Nero's army (§§ 2–4), the increased danger to Italy, due to the arrival of another general and another army (§ 5), the great ability of Hasdrubal (§§ 6–8), and Nero's incompetency (§ 9).

2. consulem . . . ostendisse . . . ignoraret: the apparent inconsistency here is not a real one, though *abesse ignoraret* cannot be taken literally. Hannibal would no doubt be informed that Nero had left his camp, but the expedition as announced (27, 43, 11 *proximam urbem*) would not require a long absence.

4. palam: the use of an adv. in place of a pred. adj. is not uncommon in Livy; cf. 5, 36, 6 *clam*. — **cum . . . milibus . . . exercitu**: note the abl. of accompaniment with and without the prep. in the same clause. — **sine viribus**: as a matter of fact, more than thirty thousand men remained in the Roman camp. — **sine imperio, sine auspicio**: there is exaggeration here also, as Catius would exercise both functions in the name of the

Veteres eius belli clades, duo consules proximo anno interfecti terrebant: et ea omnia accidisse, cum unus imperator, unus exercitus hostium in Italia esset; nunc duo bella Punica facta, duos ingentes exercitus, duos prope Hannibales in Italia esse. Quippe et Hasdrubalem patre eodem 6
Hamilcare genitum, aeque inpigrum ducem, per tot annos in Hispania Romano exercitatum bello, gemina victoria insignem, duobus exercitibus cum clarissimis ducibus deletis. Nam itineris quidem celeritate ex Hispania et concitatis 7
ad arma Gallicis gentibus multo magis quam Hannibalem ipsum gloriari posse; quippe in iis locis hunc coegisse 8
exercitum quibus ille maiorem partem militum fame ac frigore, quae miserrima mortis genera sint, amisisset. Adiciebant etiam periti rerum Hispaniae, haud cum ignoto 9
eum duce C. Nerone congressurum, sed quem in saltu inpedito deprensus forte haud secus quam puerum conscri-

absent consul; see 21, 40, 3 and note.

5. **consules . . . interfecti**: see on 1, 3, 4 and cf. 21, 1, 5. For the connection of *clades* and *consules . . . interfecti* cf. § 7 *celeritate . . . concitatis gentibus*. — **proximo anno**: the position emphasizes the contrast with *veteres*. Of the two consuls of the previous year, Marcellus had been killed in battle with Hannibal, and Crispinus died later of wounds received in the same battle.

6. **gemina victoria**: these two battles had been fought in 212, resulting in the almost complete destruction of the Roman armies and the death of the two Scipios.

7. **nam**: introducing a statement in support of the general assertion of the previous sentence that Hasdrubal was as able a commander as Hannibal; see on 27, 50, 3.

8. **quibus**: for the omission of *in* see on 1, 4, 4 *aqua*.

9. **quem in saltu**, etc.: the story is told in 26, 17, 4 ff. Hasdrubal was caught in a valley and surrounded by Nero's forces. He offered to evacuate Spain, if allowed to depart with his army; but he purposely prolonged the negotiations, while his troops withdrew secretly and in small detachments from the valley. From *periti . . . Hispaniae* it is apparent that the facts were not known to all. — **forte**: connect

bendis fallacibus condicionibus pacis frustratus elusisset.
10 Omnia maiora etiam vero praesidia hostium, minora sua, metu interprete semper in deteriora inclinato, ducebant.
1 45. Nero postquam iam tantum intervalli ab hoste fecerat, ut detegi consilium satis tutum esset, paucis milites
2 adloquitur. Negat ullius consilium imperatoris in speciem
3 audacius, re ipsa tutius fuisse quam suum. Ad certam eos se victoriam ducere; quippe ad quod bellum collega non ante quam ad satietatem ipsius peditum atque equitum datae ab senatu copiae fuissent, maiores instructioresque quam si adversus ipsum Hannibalem iret, profectus sit, eo ipsi si quantumcumque virium momentum addiderint, rem
4 omnem inclinaturos. Auditum modo in acie — nam ne ante audiatur, daturum operam — alterum consulem et alterum exercitum advenisse haud dubiam victoriam fac-
5 turum. Famam bellum conficere, et parva momenta in

with *deprensus*; the word excuses Hasdrubal and robs Nero of the credit of catching him. — **elusisset**: *tricked*; almost synonymous with *frustratus*.

10. **praesidia**: *resources*. — **in deteriora inclinato**: *looking on the worse side*.

45. 3. **ad certam . . . ducere**: the arrangement gives strong emphasis to *certam* and to *eos*. With *ducere* and the following infinitives sc. *dicit* from the preceding *negat*. — **ad satietatem**: the force originally given to Livius was a large one, but he was not satisfied, and it had been increased; according to some authorities, he had received also a large body of Spanish and Gallic auxiliaries. — **eo**: adv., referring to *bellum* and to be connected with *addiderint*; cf. Cato, *Agr.* 158, 1 *sume tibi ollam, addito eo aquae sextarios*. The meaning of the sentence is this: if they themselves should make any addition whatever to the force of Livius, which was already large, the impulse would be sufficient to tip the scales in their favor and settle the whole matter. Cf. 21, 33, 4 *quidquid adiecissent ipsi terroris, satis ad perniciem fore*. — **rem omnem**: cf. § 6 *rem totam*.

4. **auditum**: subject of *facturum*; *if it should only be heard in the battle that the other consul had arrived, it would make*, etc.

5. **famam . . . conficere**: *rumor*

spem metumque inpellere animos; gloriae quidem ex re bene gesta partae fructum prope omnem ipsos laturos; semper quod postremum adiectum sit, id rem totam videri traxisse. Cernere ipsos, quo concursu, qua admiratione, quo favore hominum iter suum celebretur. Et hercule per instructa omnia ordinibus virorum mulierumque undique ex agris effusorum, inter vota ac preces et laudes ibant; illos praesidia rei publicae, vindices urbis Romanae imperique appellabant: in illorum armis dextrisque suam liberorumque suorum salutem ac libertatem repositam esse. Deos omnes deasque precabantur, ut illis faustum iter, felix pugna, matura ex hostibus victoria esset, damnarenturque ipsi votorum quae pro iis suscepissent, ut, quem ad modum nunc solliciti prosequerentur eos, ita paucos post dies laeti ovantibus victoria obviam irent. Invitare inde pro se quisque et offerre et fatigare precibus, ut, quae ipsis iumentisque usui essent, ab se potissimum sumerent; benigne omnia cumulata dare. Modestia certare milites ne quid ultra

ends war; cf. Curt. 8, 28, 15 *fama enim bella constant et saepe etiam quod falso creditum est veri vicem obtinuit*. — **metumque**: see on 9, 6, 2 *necatique*.

6. **traxisse**: the figure is the same as in § 3 *inclinaturos*. — **celebretur**: *thronged* by the inhabitants of the region through which they were marching.

7. **per instructa . . . ordinibus**: literally, *through everything drawn up in lines*; *i.e.* between lines of men and women all drawn up. — **effusorum**: see on 22, 7, 11 *circumfundebantur*. — **vota . . . laudes**: the two similar things are connected by *ac*; cf. 1, 29, 4 *larem ac penates tectaque*. For the difference between *vota* and *preces* see on § 8 *votorum*.

8. **faustum . . . felix**: a separation of the common formula, which was popularized by its alliteration. — **ex hostibus**: see on 1, 24, 2 *unde*; the phrase is used attributively, as in 26, 13, 2 *ab Romanis*. — **votorum**: the penalty, *i.e.* the payment which they have promised to make if their prayers are answered; 10, 37, 16 *bis eiusdem voti damnata re publica*.

10. **potissimum**: rather than from any one else; see on *Praef.* 7.

usum necessarium sumerent; nihil morari nec *abire* ab signis nec subsistere cibum capientes; diem ac noctem ire; vix quod satis ad naturale desiderium corporum esset quieti
12 dare. Et ad collegam praemissi erant qui nuntiarent adventum percunctarenturque, clam an palam, interdiu an noctu venire sese vellet, isdem an aliis considere castris. Nocte clam ingredi melius visum est.

1 **46.** Tessera per castra ab Livio consule data erat, ut tribunus tribunum, centurio centurionem, eques equitem,
2 pedes peditem acciperet: neque enim dilatari castra opus esse, ne hostis adventum alterius consulis sentiret; et coartatio plurium in angusto tendentium facilior futura erat, quod Claudianus exercitus nihil ferme praeter arma
3 secum in expeditionem tulerat. Ceterum in ipso itinere auctum voluntariis agmen erat, offerentibus ultro sese et veteribus militibus perfunctis iam militia et iuvenibus, quos

11. **modestia certare**: *rivaled one another in moderation.* — **usum necessarium**: cf. 5, 47, 8. — **vix . . . dare**: this modification of the preceding statement is necessary, as according to 27, 50, 1 the march occupied six days.

12. **et**: connecting the following statement with the general idea of the preceding sections, the rapidity of the march. — **palam, interdiu**: inconsistent with § 4 *nam . . . operam.* — **noctu**: the fourth declension form is more frequent than *nocte* as an adverb.

46. 1. **tessera**: the tablet on which the watchword was written; to this any announcement might be added. — **data erat**: *had been sent;* see on 1, 4, 7 *uxori.* — **ut acciperet**: Nero's army was, of course, much smaller than that of Livius.

2. **neque**: the negative is to be connected with *dilatari.* — **coartatio**: a rare word, used only here by Livy. — **angusto**: see on 1, 3, 2 *certo.*

3. **ceterum**: restricting the statement, *coartatio . . . facilior.* — **voluntariis**: either abl. of means (see on 21, 46, 5) or dat. of agent (see on 5, 38, 6). — **perfunctis iam militia**: those who had served twenty campaigns in the infantry or ten in the cavalry. As these enlisted voluntarily, they were not properly *evocati*, veterans who were arbitrarily called upon to serve and, in return for this extra ser-

certatim nomina dantis, si quorum corporis species roburque virium aptum militiae videbatur, conscripserat. Ad 4
Senam castra alterius consulis erant et quingentos ferme inde passus Hasdrubal aberat. Itaque cum iam adpropinquaret, tectus montibus substitit Nero, ne ante noctem castra ingrederetur. Silentio ingressi, ab sui quisque ordi- 5
nis hominibus in tentoria abducti, cum summa omnium laetitia hospitaliter excipiuntur. Postero die consilium habitum, cui et L. Porcius Licinus praetor adfuit. Castra 6
iuncta consulum castris habebat, et ante adventum eorum per loca alta ducendo exercitum, cum modo insideret angustos saltus, ut transitum clauderet, modo ab latere aut ab tergo carperet agmen, ludificatus hostem omnibus artibus belli fuerat; is tum in consilio aderat. Multorum eo in- 7

vice, received certain privileges. — **roburque virium**: the same expression occurs again in 28, 35, 6; it is used also of troops, *e.g.* in 22, 40, 5.

4. **Senam**: called also Sena Gallica, a town on the Umbrian coast about twelve miles south of the Metaurus River; it became a Roman colony in 289; now Sinigaglia. — **quingentos . . . passus**: probably to the north; the distance is incredibly short.

6. **et ante adventum** etc.: until now Livy has said nothing of the movements of Hasdrubal since he gave up the siege of Placentia; 27, 43, 1. He must have had some successes, as, at the time of the battle of the Metaurus River, he had as prisoners more than three thousand Roman citizens; 27, 49, 7. Porcius was commander in northern Italy before the arrival of Livius, and had notified the senate that Hasdrubal was crossing the Alps, and that with his small force he could not prevent the advance of the enemy. In *ante adventum eorum* there would be an implication that Livius had not arrived long before Nero, if it were not for 27, 47, 1 *solita*; the phrase is therefore to be taken loosely, with particular reference to Livius. — **transitum clauderet**: sc. *hosti*; **agmen**: sc. *hostis*. — **carperet**: the word expresses very vividly the idea of swift and often repeated attacks; cf. 27, 48, 2. — **ludificatus . . . fuerat**: for the form see on 1, 2, 1. — **in consilio**: cf. the construction with *adesse* in § 5.

clinabant sententiae, ut, dum fessum via ac vigiliis reficeret militem Nero, simul et ad noscendum hostem paucos sibi 8 sumeret dies, tempus pugnae differretur; Nero non suadere modo, sed summa ope orare institit ne consilium suum, quod tutum celeritas fecisset, temerarium morando face- 9 rent: errore, qui non diuturnus futurus esset, velut torpentem Hannibalem nec castra sua sine duce relicta adgredi nec ad sequendum se iter intendisse. Antequam se moveat, deleri exercitum Hasdrubalis posse redirique in Apuliam; 10 qui prolatando spatium hosti det, eum et illa castra prodere Hannibali et aperire in Galliam iter, ut per otium, 11 ubi velit, Hasdrubali coniungatur. Extemplo signum dandum et exeundum in aciem abutendumque errore hostium absentium praesentiumque, dum neque illi sciant cum paucioribus nec hi cum pluribus et validioribus rem 12 esse. Consilio dimisso signum pugnae proponitur, confestimque in aciem procedunt.

Liv. 27. 19 [47 l.]

7. **dum**: expressing both time and purpose.

8. **institit**: repeating the idea of *summa ope*; often used by Livy in the sense, *to begin eagerly*.

9. **errore**: cf. 27, 44, 3. It would certainly be surprising if after a few days Hannibal had not discovered the real nature of Nero's expedition; it is more likely that he did make the discovery, but too late to overtake the Roman army before the battle. There was nothing for him to do, and the idea would naturally have become current that he remained ignorant of the expedition. — **nec castra . . . intendisse**: Nero assumes this; no news from Apulia could have reached him. — **rediri**: sc. *a se*.

10. **illa castra**: the one in Apulia. — **coniungatur**: reflexive; cf. 27, 48, 16 *strati* and see Lane, 1481.

11. **abutendum**: *they must take advantage of*; the verb is impersonal. — **dum**: expressing time and cause, the latter in explanation of *errore*; see on *Praef.* 2 and cf. the use of *dum* in § 7.

12 **signum pugnae**: see on 22, 3, 9.

47. 1. **vetera**: shields which had seen service, looked worn; Sil. Ital. 15, 606 *pulveris in clipeis*

47. Iam hostes ante castra instructi stabant. Moram 1
pugnae attulit, quod Hasdrubal, provectus ante signa cum
paucis equitibus, scuta vetera hostium notavit, quae ante
non viderat, et strigosiores equos; multitudo quoque maior
solita visa est. Suspicatus enim id quod erat, receptui 2
propere cecinit ac misit ad flumen, unde aquabantur, ubi et
excipi aliqui possent et notari oculis, si qui forte adustioris
coloris ut ex recenti via essent; simul circumvehi procul 3
castra iubet specularique, num auctum aliqua parte sit
vallum, et ut attendant, semel bisne signum canat in cas-
tris. Ea cum ordine omnia relata essent, castra nihil aucta 4
errorem faciebant; bina erant, sicut ante adventum consulis
alterius fuerant, una M. Livi, altera L. Porci, neutris quic-
quam, quo latius tenderetur, ad munimenta adiectum. Illud 5
veterem ducem adsuetumque Romano hosti movit, quod
semel in praetoriis castris signum, bis in consularibus refere-
bant cecinisse. Duos profecto consules esse, et quonam
modo alter ab Hannibale abscessisset, cura angebat.

vestigia visa movebant. — **solita**: sc. *multitudine.*

2. **enim**: explaining *moram . . . attulit.* — **misit**: after the Romans had returned to camp. — **flumen**: the Miseo, at the mouth of which was the town of Sena, or the river Sena, a short distance farther north. — **excipi**: *intercepted.* — **adustioris**: the participle is very rare in this sense and not so used before Livy.

3. **circumvehi . . . iubet**: *he ordered them to ride around the camp; castra* is the object of *circumvehi;* the object of *iubet* is omitted, as is that of *misit* in § 2. — **ut attendant**: this change of construction with *iubeo* is common in Livy; the subj. without *ut* also is found. — **bisne**: see on 27, 44, 1 *vituperarentne.* — **signum**: probably the signal for the beginning of the first watch of the night; cf. § 8 *vigilia prima.*

4. **castra . . . aucta**: see on 21, 1, 5 *angebant.* — **bina**: the distributive, because *castra* had no singular in regular use; Lane, 2421. — **tenderetur** = *tentoria tenderentur;* impersonal; cf. 27, 46, 2.

5. **illud**: *but that.* — **adsuetum**: especially in Spain; see on 27, 43, 1. — **hosti**: for the dat. with

6 Minime id quod erat suspicari poterat, tantae rei frustratione Hannibalem elusum, ut, ubi dux, ubi exercitus esset, 7 cum quo castra conlata haberet, ignoraret; profecto haud mediocri clade absterritum insequi non ausum; magno opere vereri, ne perditis rebus serum ipse auxilium venisset Romanisque eadem iam fortuna in Italia quae in Hispania 8 esset. Interdum litteras suas ad eum non pervenisse credere, interceptisque iis consulem ad sese opprimendum adcelerasse. His anxius curis, extinctis ignibus, vigilia prima 9 dato signo ut taciti vasa colligerent, signa ferri iussit. In trepidatione et nocturno tumultu duces parum intente adservati, alter in destinatis iam ante animo latebris subsedit, alter per vada nota Metaurum flumen tranavit. Ita desertum ab ducibus agmen primo per agros palatur, fessique aliquot *itinere* ac vigiliis sternunt somno corpora passim atque in- 10 frequentia relinquunt signa. Hasdrubal, dum lux viam

adsuesco see on 2, 1, 5. — **cura angebat**: with two constructions, — ind. disc. depending upon the idea of thought in *cura*, and ind. quest. depending upon the idea of uncertainty.

6. **tantae rei frustratione**: *by a deception so complete.* — **castra conlata haberet**: cf. 26, 12, 14, and for the combination of *habere* with the participle see on 3, 48, 1.

7. **ausum**: sc. *Hannibalem*; with *vereri* sc. *se*. — **serum auxilium**: in app. with the subject of *venisset*.

8. **extinctis ignibus**: that the enemy might not see what was being done; on the other hand, fires were often left in a camp which was being deserted, in order to deceive the enemy. — **signa ferri**: on the march the standards were carried in front; cf. 5, 37, 4 *signis convulsis*. It was Hasdrubal's purpose to retire north of the Metaurus River until he had news from his brother.

9. **duces**: native guides, of whom there were evidently only two. — **destinatis animo**: cf. 21, 44, 9. — **vada**: not a *ford*, as is clear from *tranavit*, but *shallow water*, as being less dangerous for the swimmer; Plaut. *Rud.* 171 *at in vado est; iam facile enabit.* — **primo**: not followed by *deinde* or by any other word or phrase of similar meaning. — **infrequentia**: proleptic.

10. **dum**: *until;* the night was

ostenderet, ripa fluminis signa ferri iubet, et per tortuosi amnis sinus flexusque cum errorem volvens haud multum processisset, *substitit*, ubi prima lux transitum opportunum ostendisset, transiturus. Sed cum, quantum a mari abscedebat, tanto altioribus coercentibus amnem ripis, non inveniret vada, diem terendo spatium dedit ad insequendum sese hosti. 11

48. Nero primum cum omni equitatu advenit, Porcius 1
deinde adsecutus cum levi armatura. Qui cum fessum 2
agmen carperent ab omni parte incursarentque, et iam omisso itinere, quod fugae simile erat, castra metari Poenus in tumulo super fluminis ripam vellet, advenit Livius 3
peditum omnibus copiis non itineris modo, sed ad conserendum extemplo proelium instructis armatisque. Sed 4
ubi omnis copias coniunxerunt derectaque acies est, Claudius dextro in cornu, Livius ab sinistro pugnam instruit, media acies praetori tuenda data. Hasdrubal omissa munitione 5
castrorum postquam pugnandum vidit, in prima acie ante

already well advanced, as is shown by § 9 *vigiliis*. — **ripa**: abl. of the way; he was marching up the river. — **per . . . volvens**: *wandering blindly along* etc.; for *errorem volvens* cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9, 391 *iter omne revolvens*. — **ubi . . . ostendisset**: a mere repetition of *dum . . . ostenderet*.

11. **quantum**: for this acc. see on 5, 36, 4.

48. 1. The date of the battle, according to Ov. *Fast.* 6, 770, was June 23. — **levi armatura**: see on 22, 4, 3.

4. **omnis copias**: cavalry, infantry, and light-armed troops. — **in . . . ab**: the meaning is the same; for the use of *ab* see on 1, 24, 2 *unde*. — **praetori**: Polybius does not mention him at all, and Livy only here in the description of the battle. Frontin. 2, 3, 8 *Livius et Nero . . . diductis in latera viribus, vacua fronte ex utraque parte circumvenerunt eum*. — **tuenda**: cf. 22, 45, 8.

5. **in prima acie**: *i.e.* they were a part of the first line, though stationed somewhat in advance, before the center. In battle the *signa* were stationed in the rear; see on 22, 5, 7. According to Polybius, there were only ten elephants; ac-

signa elephantos locat, circa eos laevo in cornu adversus Claudium Gallos opponit, haud tantum iis fidens, quantum
6 ab hoste timeri eos credebat; ipse dextrum cornu adversus M. Livium sibi atque Hispanis — et ibi maxime in vetere
7 milite spem habebat — sumpsit; Ligures in medio post elephantos positi. Sed longior quam latior acies erat; Gallos
8 prominens collis tegebat. Ea frons, quam Hispani tenebant, cum sinistro Romanorum cornu concurrit; dextra omnis acies extra proelium eminens cessabat; collis oppositus arcebat, ne aut a fronte aut ab latere adgrederentur.

cording to Appian, fifteen. — **circa**: *beside them*; explained by *laevo in cornu* and *dextrum cornu*; cf. 9, 2, 1. — **adversus**: used in the same way in 9, 19, 14. — **haud tantum**: a very rare combination.

6. **dextrum cornu**: Polybius says Hasdrubal took the center. — **vetere**: the Spaniards had fought with him in Spain; the Gauls and Ligurians were only recently enrolled. Polybius does not mention the Ligurians, but does mention Carthaginians in Hasdrubal's army; cf. 27, 5, 11 *per totam Africam milites mercede conduci, qui in Hispaniam ad Hasdrubalem traicerentur, ut is quam maximo exercitu primo quoque tempore in Italiam transgressus iungeret se Hannibali*; cf. also 27, 51, 11.

7. **longior quam latior**: for the two comparatives cf. 22, 47, 3. *longior* refers to the depth of the line, *latior* to the front; 33, 8, 14 *ne facile perrumperetur acies, dimidium de fronte demptum introrsus porrectis ordinibus duplicat, ut longa potius quam lata acies esset*; 37, 41, 4 *tam lata acie ne ex medio quidem cornua sua circumspicere poterant*; and, referring to the present arrangement, Polyb. 11, 1, 2 τὸ βάθος αὐξήσας τῶν τάξεων καὶ ποιήσας ἐν βραχεῖ χώρῳ τὴν ὅλην δύναμιν.

8. **ea frons**: *i.e.* that part of the front, the right wing. — **dextra . . . acies**: sc. *Romanorum*, an obscurity relieved only by the fact that *sinistro Romanorum* immediately precedes. — **collis**: behind which were the Gauls. — **ne . . . adgrederentur**: though common with other verbs of hindering, this construction is very rare with *arceo* and there is no other example in Livy; Lane, 1960. Polyb. 11, 1, 5 (Κλαύδιος) προάγειν μὲν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν καὶ περικερᾶν τοὺς ὑπεναντίους οὐκ ἐδύνατο διὰ τὰς προκειμένας δυσχωρίας, αἷς πεπιστευκὼς Ἀσδρούβας ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ λαιὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον.

Inter Livium Hasdrubalemque ingens contractum certamen 9
erat, atroxque caedes utrimque edebatur. Ibi duces ambo, 10
ibi pars maior peditum equitumque Romanorum, ibi Hispani, vetus miles peritusque Romanae pugnae, et Ligures, durum in armis genus. Eodem versi elephanti, qui primo impetu turbaverant antesignanos et iam signa moverant loco; deinde crescente certamine et clamore, inpotentius 11
iam regi et inter duas acies versari, velut incerti, quorum essent, haud dissimiliter navibus sine gubernaculo vagis. Claudius "quid ergo praecipiti cursu tam longum iter 12
emensi sumus?" clamitans militibus, cum in adversum collem frustra signa erigere conatus esset, postquam ea regione penetrari ad hostem non videbat posse, cohortis 13
aliquot subductas e dextro cornu, ubi stationem magis

10. **peritusque Romanae pugnae**: *familiar with the Roman method of fighting.* — **Ligures**: in the center, but aiding the right wing, which bore the brunt of the battle. — **genus** = *gens*; cf. 1, 5, 2. — **eodem**: *in the same direction*; *i.e.* toward the battle on Hasdrubal's right wing. — **antesignanos**: see on 22, 5, 7.

11. **inpotentius . . . regi**: *they were less effectively controlled*; the adv. in this sense, *powerlessly*, is apparently not used elsewhere. — **dissimiliter**: a rare adv. apparently not used elsewhere with the dative.

12. **militibus**: the dat. with *clamo* and *clamito* is very rare; Sen. *Ep.* 27, 1, *clamo mihi ipse.* — **in adversum collem**: *up the hill*; cf. 9, 3, 1. See passage from Polybius quoted on § 8. — **signa erigere**: cf. 1, 27, 6. — **ea regione**: abl. of the way.

13. **cohortis**: down to the beginning of the first century B.C. the name was regularly applied to the divisions of the auxiliary force supplied by the Italians. In the later period the legion was divided into cohorts, each containing three maniples, a tenth of the legion. It appears, however, from Polyb. 11, 21, 2 that even in his time the word was used in its later sense: λαβὼν . . . τρεῖς σπείρας (τοῦτο δὲ καλεῖται τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν πεζῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κοόρτις). Here, as elsewhere, Livy has in mind the later sense of the word. It is evident from Polyb. 11, 1, 7 παραδεξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας, that Claudius had here the troops which he had

14 segnem quam pugnam futuram cernebat, post aciem circumducit et non hostibus modo sed etiam suis inopinantibus in dextrum hostium latus incurrit; tantaque celeritas fuit, ut, cum ostendissent se ab latere, mox in terga iam pugna-
15 rent. Ita ex omnibus partibus, ab fronte, ab latere, ab tergo, trucidantur Hispani Liguresque, et ad Gallos iam
16 caedes pervenerat. Ibi minimum certaminis fuit; nam et pars magna ab signis aberant, nocte dilapsi stratique somno passim per agros, et qui aderant, itinere ac vigiliis fessi, intolerantissima laboris corpora, vix arma umeris gesta-
17 bant; et iam diei medium erat, sitisque et calor hiantis caedendos capiendosque adfatim praebebat.

1 **49.** Elephanti plures ab ipsis rectoribus quam ab hoste interfecti. Fabrile scalprum cum malleo habebant; id, ubi saevire beluae ac ruere in suos coeperant, magister inter aures positum, ipso in articulo, quo iungitur capiti cervix,
2 quanto maximo poterat ictu adigebat. Ea celerrima via mortis in tantae molis belua inventa erat, ubi regentis sprevissent, primusque id Hasdrubal instituerat, dux cum
3 saepe alias memorabilis, tum illa praecipue pugna. Ille

brought from Apulia; the same thing is indicated in the words of Claudius in § 12.

14. post aciem: behind the Roman center and left wing. — **cum . . . mox . . . pugnarent**: *i.e. soon after they had appeared on the flank, they were already* etc.

15. Gallos: no longer protected by the hill, now that Claudius was behind them.

16. aberant: for the plural verb with *pars* see on 2, 28, 9. — **strati**: reflexive; see on 27, 46, 10. — **intolerantissima laboris**: see on 5, 48, 3. — **corpora**: in app. with the subject of *gestabant*.

17. hiantis: *panting*. — **caedendos capiendosque**: *i.e.* in some cases to be killed, in others to be captured; see on 9, 6, 2 *necatique*.

49. 1. plures . . . interfecti: Polybius says six fell with their drivers, four broke through the lines and were captured. — **quanto maximo**: see on 9, 10, 10.

2. sprevissent: iterative; see on 3, 36, 8. — **dux . . . pugna**:

pugnantis hortando pariterque obeundo pericula sustinuit, ille fessos abnuentisque taedio et labore nunc precando nunc castigando accendit; ille fugientis revocavit omissamque pugnam aliquot locis restituit; postremo, cum haud 4
dubie fortuna hostium esset, ne superstes tanto exercitui suum nomen secuto esset, concitato equo se in cohortem Romanam inmisit. Ibi, ut patre Hamilcare et Hannibale fratre dignum erat, pugnans cecidit.

Numquam eo bello una acie tantum hostium interfectum 5
est, redditaque aequa Cannensi clades vel ducis vel exercitus interitu videbatur. Quinquaginta sex milia hostium 6
occisa, capta quinque milia et quadringenti; magna praeda alia cum omnis generis, tum auri etiam argentique. Civium 7
etiam Romanorum, qui capti apud hostes erant, supra

the connection of this general praise with the preceding statement is unexpected, and its grammatical subordination destroys much of its force.

3. **sustinuit**: sc. *eos*. — **taedio et labore**: the meaning is the same as in 22, 2, 4 *taedio laboris*; cf. 5, 2, 7 *opere ac labore* and 21, 27, 6 *operis labore*.

4. **dubie**: adv. taking the place of a pred. adj.; see on 27, 44, 4. — **fortuna**: *success*; cf. 24, 34, 1. — **nomen**: *i.e.* his name and the reputation that went with it; cf. *Praef.* 3.

5. **reddita**: *to have been inflicted*; lit. *paid back in return for injury received, i.e.* the Roman loss at the battle of Cannae; cf. 24, 20, 2 *reddidit hosti cladem.*

6. **quinquaginta sex milia**: according to Appian 52, this was the whole number in Hasdrubal's army, 48,000 foot and 8000 horse, and this is not inconsistent with the implication of § 9 that practically the whole army was destroyed. Polybius sets the loss at not less than 10,000, Orosius at 58,000. Compare the Roman loss at the battle of Cannae, 22, 49, 15. — **alia**: *besides*; see on 21, 27, 5. — **omnis**: *every other*. — **auri etiam argentique**: 28, 9, 16 f. *pecuniae in aerarium tulerunt sestertium triciens, octoginta milia aeris. Militibus M. Livius quinquagenos senos asses divisit; tantundem C. Claudius absentibus militibus suis est pollicitus, cum ad exercitum redisset.*

7. **civium**: depending upon *capitum*. — **qui . . . erant**: before the battle.

quattuor milia capitum recepta. Id solaci fuit pro amissis eo proelio militibus. Nam haudquaquam incruenta victoria
8 fuit; octo ferme milia Romanorum sociorumque occisa; adeoque etiam victores sanguinis caedisque ceperat satietas, ut postero die, cum esset nuntiatum Livio consuli Gallos Cisalpinos Liguresque, qui aut proelio non adfuissent aut inter caedem effugissent, uno agmine abire sine certo duce, sine signis, sine ordine ullo aut imperio; posse, si una
9 equitum ala mittatur, omnes deleri: "supersint" inquit "aliqui nuntii et hostium cladis et nostrae virtutis."

1 **50.** Nero ea nocte quae secuta est pugnam *profectus*, citatiore quam inde venerat agmine die sexto ad stativa sua
2 atque ad hostem pervenit. Iter eius frequentia minore, quia nemo praecesserat nuntius, laetitia vero tanta, vix ut conpotes mentium prae gaudio essent, celebratum est.
3 Nam Romae neuter animi habitus satis dici enarrarique

8. uno agmine: *i.e.* in a single compact body, not scattered. — **sine signis**: the standards marked the divisions of an army; the phrase means, therefore, *in disorder*, and is practically synonymous with *sine ordine*, as *sine imperio* is synonymous with *sine certo duce*.

9. inquit: the *ut* in § 8, which would properly introduce a subj. of result, has been forgotten during the intervening clauses. In 36, 36, 6 Livy mentions a temple of Iuventas vowed by Livius in this battle and dedicated in 191.

50. 1. die sexto: the distance was approximately two hundred miles. — **stativa**: see on 21, 35, 5. — **ad hostem**: Livy sometimes repeats, sometimes omits, the prep. with a second noun; § 4 *a curia atque ab magistratibus*; 8, 17, 1 *ad moenia atque urbem*.

2. nemo nuntius: see on 9, 9, 16; with substantives in the nom. Livy uses *nemo*; with other cases, *nullus*. — **prae**: see on 1, 29, 3.

3. nam: Livy sometimes uses *nam* loosely, referring only in a general way to what precedes, as in 27, 44, 7, or, as here, he uses it to introduce a statement which does not explain the preceding statement, but justifies him in making it. The meaning is, *I may well say the rejoicing along the road was so great, for at Rome the excitement was indescribable.* — **quo . . . fuerat . . . accepit**:

potest, nec quo incerta expectatione eventus civitas fuerat, nec quo victoriae famam accepit. Numquam per omnis 4
dies, ex quo Claudium consulem profectum fama attulit, ab orto sole ad occidentem aut senator quisquam a curia atque ab magistratibus abscessit aut populus e foro. Matronae, 5
quia nihil in ipsis opis erat, in preces obtestationesque versae, per omnia delubra vagae suppliciis votisque fatigare deos. Tam sollicitae ac suspensae civitati fama incerta 6
primo accidit duos Narnienses equites in castra, quae in faucibus Vmbriae opposita erant, venisse ex proelio, nuntiantes caesos hostes. Et primo magis auribus quam animis 7
id acceptum erat ut maius laetiusque quam quod mente capere aut satis credere possent, et ipsa celeritas fidem impediebat, quod biduo ante pugnatum dicebatur. Litterae 8
deinde ab L. Manlio Acidino missae ex castris adferuntur de Narniensium equitum adventu. Hae litterae per forum 9
ad tribunal praetoris latae senatum curia exciverunt; tanto-

relative clauses qualifying *habitus*, where indirect questions introduced by *dici enarrarique* might have been expected. The first *quo* is a descriptive abl., the second an abl. of manner.

4. **senator . . . abscessit**: cf. 26, 9, 9. — **quisquam**: for this adj. use cf. 9, 18, 13. — **magistratibus**: in the absence of the consuls the *praetor urbanus* summoned the senate and presided; in his absence (see on § 8) probably the *praetor peregrinus*. — **e foro**: instances of *abscedo* with *e* are very rare; this is the only one in Livy.

5. **matronae . . . deos**: cf. 26, 9, 7. — **suppliciis**: *prayers*; an early use of the word. For the exact meaning of *votis* see on 27, 45, 8.

6. **quae . . . erant**: see on 27, 43, 9.

7. **quam quod . . . possent**: cf. 9, 9, 14; 33, 32, 6. — **biduo ante**: the distance from the Metaurus to Rome was approximately 175 miles.

8. **L. Manlio Acidino**: probably the *praetor urbanus*, commanding the *exercitus urbanus*; see 27, 43, 9.

9. **ad tribunal praetoris**: the tribunal was at this time near the senate-house. Sometimes, if

que certamine ac tumultu populi ad fores curiae concursum est, ut adire nuntius non posset, sed traheretur a percunctantibus vociferantibusque, ut in rostris prius quam in
10 senatu litterae recitarentur. Tandem submoti et coerciti a magistratibus, dispensarique laetitia inter inpotentis eius
11 animos potuit. In senatu primum, deinde in contione litterae recitatae sunt; et pro cuiusque ingenio aliis iam certum gaudium, aliis nulla ante futura fides erat quam legatos consulumve litteras audissent.

51. Ipsos deinde adpropinquare legatos adlatum est. Tunc enimvero omnis aetas currere obvii, primus quisque
2 oculis auribusque haurire tantum gaudium cupientes. Ad
3 Mulvium usque pontem continens agmen pervenit. Legati — erant L. Veturius Philo, P. Licinius Varus, Q. Caecilius Metellus — circumfusi omnis generis hominum frequentia

the senate was in session, a message was taken directly to the Curia; see 27, 51, 5; 45, 2, 3. — **senatum . . . exciverunt**: we must assume that upon learning the cause of the disturbance they immediately returned with the praetor to the senate-house; the messenger, who still retained the letter, was prevented from following. — **tantoque . . . concursum est**: cf. 22, 7, 7. — **rostris**: the platform at the front of the Comitium, from which the people were addressed.

10. **submoti et coerciti**: *pushed back and held in check*. — **a magistratibus**: *i.e.* by the lictors and other attendants of the magistrates; *submoveo* is a technical word in this sense. — **inpotentis eius**: cf. § 7 and 27, 51, 6 *cum vix gaudium animis caperent*.

51. 1. **aetas**: for this use of the abstract noun cf. 3, 47, 1 *civitas, advocatione*; as a collective noun it is qualified by the plural adj. *obvii*, and the construction is repeated in *primus quisque . . . cupientes*. — **primus quisque**: *all those in advance*; in partitive app. with *aetas*. This appears to be a somewhat awkward way of saying that each was eager to hear the news first.

2. **Mulvium pontem**: the Via Flaminia crossed the Tiber by this bridge, now the Ponte Molle, about two miles north of the gate in the Servian Wall where the road began.

3. **circumfusi**: here a real passive; more often used in a reflex-

in forum pervenerunt, cum alii ipsos, alii comites eorum, quae acta essent, percunctarentur. Et ut quisque audierat 4
exercitum hostium imperatoremque occisum, legiones Romanas incolumes, salvos consules esse, extemplo aliis porro inpertiebant gaudium suum. Cum aegre in curiam per- 5
ventum esset, multo aegrius submota turba, ne patribus misceretur, litterae in senatu recitatae sunt. Inde traducti in contionem legati. L. Veturius litteris recitatis ipse 6
planius omnia, quae acta erant, exposuit cum ingenti adsensu, postremo etiam clamore universae contionis, cum vix gaudium animis caperent. Discursum inde ab aliis 7
circa templa deum, ut grates agerent, ab aliis domos, ut coniugibus liberisque tam laetum nuntium inpertirent. Senatus, quod M. Livius et C. Claudius consules incolumi 8
exercitu ducem hostium legionesque occidissent, supplica-

ive sense, as in 22, 7, 11. — **cum**: *while;* the clause is not primarily temporal and an indic. might have been used (see on 3, 46, 10); there is a similar use of the subj. in § 9.

4. **audierat**: Livy uses either the indic. or the subj. in a relative, temporal, or conditional clause expressing repeated action in past time; cf. 3, 50, 13 and see on 3, 36, 8. — **porro inpertiebant**: *they went on to share.*

5. **aegre . . . aegrius**: a sort of repetition not uncommon in Livy; cf. 2, 29, 5; 38, 53, 9. — **submota turba**: better taken as an abl. abs. than as a second *cum* clause with asyndeton. — **ne patribus misceretur**: the public were not admitted to the senate-house, but, as the doors were ordinarily left open, they could follow the discussion and sometimes interrupted it with applause or expressions of disapproval. — **traducti**: by the magistrates; *produco* and *prodeo* are the regular words in this sense. *traduco* is used here, perhaps, to suggest that they were taken across the Comitium through the crowd; cf. 45, 2, 6. They addressed the people from the rostra.

7. **circa**: for this use cf. 26, 13, 1. — **templa**: on the edge of the Forum at this time were the temples of Vesta, Janus, Saturn, Castor, and Concord, and the great temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline was not far distant.

8. **legiones**: see on 22, 6, 3. — **supplicationem**: originally a single

tionem in triduum decrevit. Eam supplicationem C. Hostilius praetor pro contione edixit, celebrataque a viris
9 feminisque est; omniaque templa per totum triduum aequalem turbam habuere, cum matronae amplissima veste cum liberis, perinde ac si debellatum foret, omni solutae
10 metu deis inmortalibus grates agerent. Statum quoque civitatis ea victoria firmavit, ut iam inde haud secus quam in pace res inter se contrahere vendendo, emendo, mutuum dando argentum creditumque solvendo auderent.

11 C. Claudius consul cum in castra redisset, caput Hasdrubalis, quod servatum cum cura attulerat, proici ante hostium stationes, captivosque Afros vinctos, ut erant, ostendi, duos etiam ex iis solutos ire ad Hannibalem et
12 expromere, quae acta essent, iussit. Hannibal, tanto simul publico familiarique ictus luctu, agnoscere se fortunam
13 Carthaginis fertur dixisse; castrisque inde motis, ut omnia

day of prayer, with a procession to important sanctuaries, where there were offerings of wine and incense; later the period was extended, until at the end of the republic it sometimes continued for forty or fifty days.

9. **aequalem**: *i.e.* all were equally crowded. — **cum**: see on § 3. — **amplissima veste**: *in their finest garments;* cf. 30, 30, 18; *veste* is used collectively; cf. 2, 23, 3.

10. **haud secus . . . pace**: Polyb. 11, 3 καθόλου δ' εἰς τοιαύτην εὐελπιστίαν παρεγένοντο καὶ θάρσος ὥστε πάντας τὸν Ἀννίβαν, ὃν μάλιστα πρότερον ἐφοβήθησαν, τότε μηδ' ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ νομίζειν παρεῖναι. — **res . . . contrahere**: *to have business transactions with one another.* — **mutuum dando argentum**: *lending money; argentum* is to be taken also with *creditum.*

11. **castra**: in Apulia. — **caput Hasdrubalis . . . stationes**: Hannibal's treatment of fallen Roman leaders had always been much more merciful, in spite of the statement of 21, 4, 9. — **Afros**: see on 27, 48, 6. — **ut erant**: cf. 27, 43, 4.

12. **agnoscere . . . dixisse**: Hor. *Od.* 4, 4, 70 ff. *occidit, occidit | spes omnis et fortuna nostri | nominis Hasdrubale interempto.*

13. **inde**: from Canusium. — **tueri**: *watch;* he was afraid they would revolt, as many towns had

auxilia quae diffusa latius tueri non poterat in extremum Italiae angulum Bruttios contraheret, et Metapontinos, civitatem universam, excitos sedibus suis, et Lucanorum qui suae dicionis erant in Bruttium agrum traduxit.

BOOK XXX

Hannibal's Departure from Italy

19. Ad Cn. Servilium consulem, qui in Bruttiis erat, Consentia, Aufugum, Bergae, Besidiae, Ocriculum, Lymphaeum, Argentanum, Clampetia multique alii ignobiles populi, senescere Punicum bellum cernentes, defecere. Idem consul cum Hannibale in agro Crotoniensi acie conflixit. Obscura eius pugnae fama est. Valerius Antias quinque milia hostium caesa ait; quae tanta res est, ut aut inpudenter ficta sit aut neglegenter praetermissa. Nihil certe ultra rei in Italia ab Hannibale gestum; nam ad 10 203 B.C. 11 12

already done; 27, 41, 1 *in Lucanos ad Grumentum (Hannibal) venit spe recipiendi oppida, quae per metum ad Romanos defecissent.* — **Bruttios**: the omission of the prep. (see on 27, 50, 1) is somewhat harsh. — **Metapontinos**: Metapontum itself was in Lucania, but is distinguished from the other towns as being of Greek origin. Metapontum went over to Hannibal soon after the battle of Cannae, but did not get rid of its Roman garrison till 212, when it became an important base of supplies for Hannibal. The inhabitants were now removed to save them from Roman vengeance.

Book XXX. **19**[10]**–20**. References: App. *Hann.* 57 61. Ihne, 2, 441–445. Mommsen, 2, 357–358. Dodge, *Hannibal*, 592–595.

19. 10. **Consentia . . . Clampetia**: excepting the first and the last, the exact location of these towns is unknown.

11. **Valerius Antias**: see *Introd.* 7; 33, 10, 8 *si Valerio qui credat omnium rerum inmodice numerum augenti.* — **neglegenter praetermissa**: *i.e.* if he has not lied, others have carelessly neglected to mention it.

12. **certe**: *in any case; i.e.* whatever was the loss. — **quoque**: Hannibal's brother, Mago, who

eum quoque legati ab Carthagine vocantes in Africam iis forte diebus, quibus ad Magonem, venerunt.

1 **20.** Frendens gemensque ac vix lacrimis temperans dici-
2 tur legatorum verba audisse. Postquam edita sunt mandata, "iam non perplexe" inquit, "sed palam revocant, qui vetando supplementum et pecuniam mitti iam pridem
3 retrahebant. Vicit ergo Hannibalem non populus Romanus, totiens caesus fugatusque, sed senatus Carthagi-
4 niensis obtrectatione atque invidia. Neque hac deformitate reditus mei tam P. Scipio exultabit atque efferet sese quam Hanno, qui domum nostram, quando alia re non potuit,
5 ruina Carthaginis oppressit." Iam hoc ipsum praesagiens animo praeparaverat ante naves. Itaque inutili militum turba praesidi specie in oppida Brutti agri, quae pauca metu magis quam fide continebantur, dimissa, quod roboris
6 in exercitu erat in Africam transvexit, multis Italici generis,

had landed at Genoa in 205 and had enlisted the Ligurians and Gauls in large numbers, had just been recalled. — **iis . . . diebus**: the usual expression is *per eos dies*.

20. 1. **lacrimis**: dat., as in 1, 29, 6.

2. **perplexe**: *covertly, indirectly*. — **vetando . . . mitti**: ever since his arrival in Italy, Hannibal had sought to arouse the Carthaginians to a realization of the necessities and possibilities of his position; but the peace party had been strong enough to prevent the sending of men and supplies, and he had been forced to rely almost exclusively upon his own efforts. — **retrahebant**: *were forcing me to return*.

3. **obtrectatione atque invidia**: *ill will and jealousy*. App. *Hann.* 16 tells how his opponents inquired why Hannibal was asking for help when he was winning victories. Nepos, *Hann.* 1 *multorum obtrectatio devicit unius virtutem*.

4. **P. Scipio**: he had fought at Trebia and at Cannae, and in 210, at the age of twenty-seven, had been appointed commander of the Roman forces in Spain. He returned to Rome in 206 and was elected consul for the next year. — **efferet sese**: see on 30, 30, 23. — **Hanno**: a leader of the party in Carthage which was opposed to Hannibal.

qui in Africam secuturos abnuentes concesserant in Iunonis Laciniae delubrum inviolatum ad eam diem, in templo ipso foede interfectis. Raro quemquam alium patriam exili 7
causa relinquentem tam maestum abisse ferunt quam Hannibalem hostium terra excedentem; respexisse saepe Italiae litora et, deos hominesque accusantem, in se quoque ac suum ipsius caput execratum, quod non cruentum ab Can- 8
nensi victoria militem Romam duxisset: Scipionem ire ad Carthaginem ausum, qui consul hostem Poenum in Italia

6. Iunonis Laciniae delubrum: on the promontory of Lacinium, near Croton. — **in templo . . . interfectis**: possibly inconsistent with 42, 3, 6 *templum augustissimum regionis eius, quod non Pyrrhus, non Hannibal violassent*; though it is true that Hannibal did not injure the temple itself, and *violassent* may be used in this sense. Cic. *Div.* 1, 48, quoting Coelius, tells how Hannibal, warned by Juno, who appeared to him in a dream, gave up his intention of removing a golden column from the temple. Ihne contends that it would not have been in accord with Hannibal's character to massacre these Italians and that the story is a Roman slander.

7. in . . . execratum: cf. 39, 51, 12. — **suum ipsius**: cf. 1, 28, 4. — **caput**: see on 3, 48, 5. — **execratum**: sc. *esse*.

8. quod . . . duxisset: 22, 51, 4 "*non omnia nimirum eidem dedere; vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti nescis.*" *Mora eius diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.* 26, 7, 3 *multa secum, quo iam inde ire pergeret, volventi subiit animum impetus caput ipsum belli Romam petendi, cuius rei semper cupitae praetermissam occasionem post Cannensem pugnam et alii vulgo fremebant et ipse non dissimulabat.* — **ab . . . victoria**: to be taken with *cruentum* and *duxisset*, — with the former as an abl. of cause; cf. 1, 1, 4 and 33, 32, 9. — **Romam**: *to Rome*; the road had been open to him right up to the city wall. Scipio had ventured *ad Carthaginem, to the neighborhood of Carthage*. During his consulship in 205, Scipio was making plans for an expedition to Africa. A fleet was built and an army gathered in Sicily. In the spring of 204 he set sail for Africa and landed near Utica. — **qui . . . vidisset**: during Scipio's consulship Hannibal's power in Italy was so far reduced that it had been unnecessary for the consul to conduct any campaign against him; the thought is

9 non vidisset; se centum milibus armatorum ad Trasumennum, ad Cannas caesis circa Casilinum Cumasque et Nolam consenuisse. Haec accusans querensque ex diutina possessione Italiae est detractus.

Liv. 30. 19

Meeting of Hannibal and Scipio in Africa

1 **29.** Iam Hadrumetum pervenerat Hannibal, unde, ad
203 B.C. reficiendum ex iactatione maritima militem paucis diebus sumptis, excitus pavidis nuntiis omnia circa Carthaginem obtineri armis adferentium, magnis itineribus Zamam con-

concessive, and is contrasted with *centum . . . caesis*.

9. **centum milibus**: so App. *Hann.* 25; on the other hand, Livy, 23, 11, 9 *occidisse supra ducenta milia hostium;* but both Appian and Livy are speaking of the total Roman loss through the battle of Cannae, and this would include the loss at the Trebia. — **haec**: acc. of kindred meaning with both participles. — **ex . . . Italiae**: cf. 22, 44 6 *Hannibal . . . Italiam.*

29–31. References: Polyb. 15, 5–8. Ihne, 2, 448–453. Mommsen, 2, 358–360. Dodge, *Hannibal*, 596–612.

29. 1. **Hadrumetum**: on the African coast about seventy-five miles south of Carthage. In 30, 25, 12 he is said to have landed at Leptis, a short distance south of Hadrumetum, and, unless the present statement is based upon a different tradition and is, therefore, inconsistent with the former, we must understand that Hannibal marched from Leptis to Hadrumetum, preferring the latter as a resting-place. For he would not have reëmbarked his army, and *ad reficiendum . . . sumptis* refers to the voyage from Italy. App. *Lib.* 33 says he landed at Hadrumetum. Livy gives no account of the events of the following months, from the autumn of 203 to the autumn of 202. Polybius leaves Hannibal inactive at Hadrumetum, while Scipio plunders the Carthaginian towns. Appian speaks of alliances with Numidian chieftains, and says that he took some of Masinissa's towns by surrender or force. — **ex iactatione**: cf. 21, 26, 5 *refectis ab iactatione maritima.* — **armis**: *i.e.* by the Romans.

2. **Zama**: probably Zama Regia, southwest of Carthage, about seventy-five miles distant in a straight

tendit. Zama quinque dierum iter ab Carthagine abest. 2
Inde praemissi speculatores cum excepti ab custodibus Ro- 202 B.C.
manis deducti ad Scipionem essent, traditos eos tribuno militum iussosque omisso metu visere omnia per castra, qua vellent, circumduci iussit; percunctatusque, satin per 3
commodum omnia explorassent, datis qui prosequerentur, retro ad Hannibalem dimisit. Hannibal nihil quidem 4
eorum quae nuntiabantur — nam et Masinissam cum sex milibus peditum, quattuor equitum venisse eo ipso forte die adferebant —, laeto animo audivit, maxime hostis fiducia *audacia*que, non de nihilo profecto concepta, perculsus est. Itaque quamquam et ipse causa belli erat et adventu 5
suo turbaverat et pactas indutias et spem foederum, tamen, si integer quam si victus peteret pacem, aequiora inpetrari posse ratus, nuntium ad Scipionem misit, ut conloquendi secum potestatem faceret. Id utrum sua sponte 6
fecerit an publico consilio, neutrum cur adfirmem habeo.

line. — **iussos . . . iussit**: the repetition is awkward. — **per castra**: connect with *circumduci*.

3. **satin** = *satisne*.

4. **et**: *also*; to be connected not with *Masinissam*, but with the whole sentence, which gives an additional reason for his anxiety. — **Masinissam**: king of that part of Numidia which was nearest to Carthage. He had fought in Spain on the Carthaginian side, but had later gone over to the Romans and with difficulty sustained the combined attack of Carthage and the other Numidian king, Syphax, until the arrival of Scipio in Africa. — **eo . . . die**: when the Carthaginian spies were in the Roman camp. — **maxime**: a striking example of asyndeton; cf. 42, 60, 2 *omnes quidem laeti, ante alios Thracum insolens laetitia eminebat*.

5. **ipse . . . erat**: and might therefore expect small consideration; see on 21, 1, 1. — **adventu . . . foederum**: at the news of his approach the war party in Carthage had got the upper hand, violated the truce which had been arranged, and broken off negotiations for a permanent peace. — **nuntium**: either *message* or *messenger*; cf. 27, 43, 10 *praemissi . . . ut*.

6. **neutrum**: the two indirect

7 Valerius Antias primo proelio victum eum a Scipione, quo duodecim milia armatorum in acie sint caesa, mille et septingenti capti, legatum cum aliis decem legatis tradit in 8 castra ad Scipionem venisse. Ceterum Scipio cum conloquium haud abnuisset, ambo ex conposito duces castra 9 protulerunt, ut coire ex propinquo possent. Scipio haud procul Naraggara urbe, cum ad cetera loco opportuno tum 10 quod aquatio intra teli coniectum erat, consedit; Hannibal tumulum a quattuor milibus inde, tutum commodumque alioqui, nisi quod longinquae aquationis erat, cepit. Ibi in medio locus conspectus undique, ne quid insidiarum esset, delectus.

1 30. Submotis pari spatio armatis cum singulis interpretibus congressi sunt, non suae modo aetatis maximi duces, sed omnis ante se memoriae, omnium gentium cuili- 2 bet regum imperatorumve pares. Paulisper alter alterius

questions are included in this word, which takes their place as object of *adfirmem*.

7. **primo proelio**: that there was more than one battle is attested by Eutrop. 3, 22 *Hannibal quoque frequentibus proeliis victus a Scipione petit etiam ipse pacem.*

8. **ceterum**: *but, whether that be true or not.* — **ex conposito, ex propinquo**: see on 1, 25, 9 *ex insperato*.

9. **Naraggara**: more than fifty miles west of Zama; Appian locates the conference and battle at Cilla, not so far distant. — **intra teli coniectum**: not only was the labor slight, but the water carriers could be protected.

10. **a . . . inde**: *four miles away from there.* This use of *a* originated in passages where the place from which was omitted, being easily supplied from the context, and it is regularly confined to such passages; *a* is thus practically an adv., meaning *away;* the abl. indicates the amount of difference. — **alioqui**: used first in prose by Livy. — **conspectus**: *visible, i.e.* open, surrounded by a clear space, so that no troops could be concealed in its neighborhood; cf. 22, 4, 6.

30. 1. **spatio**: abl. of amount of difference. — **ante se**: for the attributive use cf. 1, 25, 11. — **memoriae**: parallel with *aetatis;*

conspectu, admiratione mutua prope attoniti, conticuere. Tum Hannibal prior: "Si hoc ita fato datum erat, ut qui 3
primus bellum intuli populo Romano quique totiens prope
in manibus victoriam habui, is ultro ad pacem petendam
venirem, laetor te mihi sorte potissimum datum a quo peterem. Tibi quoque inter multa egregia non in ultimis 4
laudum hoc fuerit, Hannibalem, cui tot de Romanis ducibus victoriam di dedissent, tibi cessisse, teque huic bello,
vestris potius quam nostris cladibus insigni, finem inposuisse. Hoc quoque ludibrium casus ediderit fortuna, ut, 5
cum patre tuo consule ceperim arma, cum eodem primum
Romano imperatore signa contulerim, ad filium eius iner-

of all recorded in former times; pares, following *maximi*, is an anticlimax.

2. **conticuere**: *remained silent*; a very rare meaning; usually, *to become silent*, after speaking.

3. **primus . . . intuli**: referring to this war; the same thought as in § 30; cf. 30, 29, 5 *ipse causa belli erat*. — **victoriam**: *i.e.* a final victory, which would have ended the war. — **potissimum**: connect with *te*, from which it is somewhat strangely removed; cf. *Praef.* 7.

4. **ultimis laudum**: cf. § 11 *incerta casuum* and see on 5, 38, 4 *in aequo campi*. — **fuerit**: potential subjunctive, referring to future time. — **de . . . victoriam**: cf. 21, 46, 8.

5. **ediderit**: potential subjunctive, but, unlike *fuerit* in § 4, referring to past time, — a rare use of the perfect; Lane, 1557. The subj. differs from the indic. in giving more or less uncertainty to the statement; *chance perhaps has played this trick*. — **ut . . . veniam**: the sentence is somewhat confusingly constructed. It is better to regard *cum* in both instances as the conjunction; for the asyndeton between the two clauses see on 3, 52, 5. The second *cum* may, however, be taken as the prep., with asyndeton between *contulerim* and *veniam*. The *cum* clauses are not strictly temporal, but give subordinate facts, which might well have been put into a relative clause, *cuius patre consule* etc. *patre tuo consule* is awkwardly followed by *ad filium eius*, which stands for *ad te, filium eius*. Scipio's father was consul in 218; the second *cum* clause may refer to the cavalry battle near the mouth of the Rhone (21, 29, 2 ff.) or to the battle at the Ticinus. — **primum**: connect with *contulerim*.

6 mis ad pacem petendam veniam. Optimum quidem fuerat
eam patribus nostris mentem datam ab dis esse, ut et vos
7 Italiae et nos Africae imperio contenti essemus; neque
enim ne vobis quidem Sicilia ac Sardinia satis digna pretia
sunt pro tot classibus, tot exercitibus, tot tam egregiis
amissis ducibus. Sed praeterita magis reprehendi possunt
8 quam corrigi. Ita aliena adpetivimus, ut de nostris dimi-
caremus, nec in Italia solum nobis bellum, vobis in Africa
esset, sed et vos in portis vestris prope ac moenibus signa
armaque hostium vidistis et nos ab Carthagine fremitum
9 castrorum Romanorum exaudimus. Quod igitur nos maxi-
me abominaremur, vos ante omnia optaretis, in meliore
vestra fortuna de pace agitur. Agimus ei, quorum et
maxime interest pacem esse, et qui quodcumque egerimus,
ratum civitates nostrae habiturae sunt. Animo tantum

6. **fuerat**: apodosis of a non-occurrent condition; Lane, 2107. The English plup. indic. is used in the same way. — **patribus nostris**: *i.e.* at the time of the First Punic War; the second war was the inevitable consequence of the first.

7. **neque . . . ne . . . quidem**: a rare combination, occurring, however, occasionally in Livy with the force of a strengthened *ne . . . quidem*. — **vobis**: dat. of interest, not abl. with *digna;* the meaning is, *not even you could afford to lose so many fleets* etc., *for the sake of acquiring Sicily and Sardinia*. — **tot tam**: cf. 26, 13, 17.

8. **ita . . . dimicaremus**: *we* (*i.e.* both Romans and Carthaginians) *sought the possessions of others with such disastrous results that we had to fight for our own.* In *aliena* he refers to Sicily and Sardinia on the one hand, and to Spain and Italy on the other. — **in Italia . . . in Africa**: chiasmus and asyndeton. — **vidistis, exaudimus**: freed from dependence upon *ut* and thus made more emphatic.

9. **igitur**: connecting *in meliore . . . agitur* with *nos . . . exaudimus*. — **abominaremur, optaretis**: conclusions of non-occurrent conditions; sc. *if circumstances were different*. — **ei**: referring to Scipio and Hannibal. — **quorum . . . esse**: because the greatest responsibility rested upon them. — **et qui . . . habiturae sunt**: *and whatever terms we make our states will ratify. et qui* is falsely

nobis opus est non abhorrente a quietis consiliis. Quod 10
ad me attinet, iam aetas senem in patriam revertentem,
unde puer profectus sum, iam secundae, iam adversae res
ita erudierunt, ut rationem sequi quam fortunam malim;
tuam et adulescentiam et perpetuam felicitatem, ferociora 11
utraque quam quietis opus est consiliis, metuo. Non
temere incerta casuum reputat, quem fortuna numquam
decepit. Quod ego fui ad Trasumennum, ad Cannas, id 12
tu hodie es. Vixdum militari aetate imperio accepto omnia
audacissime incipientem nusquam fefellit fortuna. Patris 13
et patrui persecutus mortem ex calamitate vestrae domus
decus insigne virtutis pietatisque eximiae cepisti; amissas
Hispanias reciperasti, quattuor inde Punicis exercitibus

correlated with *quorum et*, and the resulting anacoluthon is exceedingly awkward.

10. **iam . . . iam . . . iam**: the first is not correlative with the two others; the correlation of these is a poetical usage not found elsewhere in Livy; cf. 30, 37, 9 *nunc . . . nunc.* — **senem**: he was now forty-five years old; see 30, 37, 9. — **puer**: see on 21, 4, 1.

11. **adulescentiam**: Scipio was now probably thirty-two years old. — **utraque**: the plural is regularly used of classes, each containing a plurality, but is also often used, as here, of individual persons or things. The neuter is often used referring to two or more feminine nouns denoting things; cf. 37, 32, 13 *ira et avaritia imperio potentiora erant.* — **consiliis**: poss. dat.; *both things more headstrong than are needed in a policy of peace.* — **temere**: *easily*. — **incerta casuum**: see on § 4.

12. **quod**: summing up his position and prospects; for this use of the neuter pronoun cf. 2, 28, 4 *id.* — **vixdum . . . aetate**: see on 30, 20, 4; an exaggeration, since Romans were liable to military service as early as their seventeenth year.

13. **persecutus**: *by avenging*. In 217 P. Cornelius Scipio joined his brother, Gnaeus, in Spain (see on 21, 39), where both were killed in battle in 211. The son of Publius was then appointed commander. — **amissas Hispanias**: an exaggeration; though the two Scipios suffered a serious defeat in 211, northern Spain was still under the power of Rome, and that the country was by no means

14 pulsis; consul creatus, cum ceteris ad tutandam Italiam parum animi esset, transgressus in Africam, duobus hic exercitibus caesis, binis eadem hora captis simul incensisque castris, Syphace potentissimo rege capto, tot urbibus regni eius, tot nostri imperi ereptis, me sextum decimum iam annum haerentem in possessione Italiae detraxisti.
15 Potest victoriam malle quam pacem animus. Novi hos spiritus magnos magis quam utiles; et mihi talis aliquando
16 fortuna adfulsit. Quodsi in secundis rebus bonam quoque mentem darent dei, non ea solum quae evenissent sed etiam ea quae evenire possent reputaremus. Vt omnium obliviscaris aliorum, satis ego documenti in omnes casus sum,
17 quem, modo castris inter Anienem atque urbem vestram positis signa inferentem ac iam prope scandentem moenia Romana, hic cernas duobus fratribus, fortissimis viris, cla-

lost is proved by the subsequent success of the younger Scipio; see on 38, 51, 3. — **quattuor . . . pulsis**: cf. 28, 43, 14 f. *post fusos fugatosque quattuor exercitus Punicos, post tot urbes vi captas aut metu subactas in dicionem, post perdomita omnia usque ad Oceanum, tot regulos, tot saevas gentes, post receptam totam Hispaniam ita ut vestigium belli nullum reliquum sit.*

14. **consul**: he was elected for 205, irregularly, as he had not been praetor. Custom had established a regular order of offices, but no definite age requirement had as yet been fixed. — **transgressus**: this was in the next year, when he was proconsul. — **binis**: see on 27, 47, 4. — **Syphace**: a Numidian king and ally of the Carthaginians; he was captured by Masinissa in 203, and having been delivered to Scipio, was sent to Rome, where he soon died. — **detraxisti**: cf. 30, 20, 2 and 9.

15. **potest**: note the emphasis; *it is possible for the mind* etc. — **novi**: *I know by experience*; explained in the next sentence.

16. **ut . . . obliviscaris**: see on 1, 28, 5.

17. **modo**: in 211; see 26, 10, 3. In § 12 and here Hannibal mentions his most remarkable achievements in Italy; for his march to Rome, though unsuccessful, was a striking proof that he was practically master of the peninsula. — **cernas**: the clause contains a reason, being equivalent to *cum*

rissimis imperatoribus, orbatum, ante moenia prope obsessae patriae, quibus terrui vestram urbem, ea pro mea deprecantem. Maximae cuique fortunae minime credendum est. 18
In bonis tuis rebus, nostris dubiis, tibi ampla ac speciosa danti est pax, nobis petentibus magis necessaria quam honesta. Melior tutiorque est certa pax quam sperata victoria; 19
haec in tua, illa in deorum manu est. Ne tot annorum felicitatem in unius horae dederis discrimen; cum tuas 20
vires, tum vim fortunae Martemque belli communem propone animo. Vtrimque ferrum, utrimque corpora humana erunt; nusquam minus quam in bello eventus respondent.
Non tantum ad id, quod data pace iam habere potes, si 21
proelio vincas, gloriae adieceris, quantum *dempseris*, si quid adversi eveniat. Simul parta ac sperata decora unius horae fortuna evertere potest. Omnia in pace iungenda tuae 22
potestatis sunt, P. Corneli; tunc ea habenda fortuna erit,

me . . . cernas. — **fratribus**: Hasdrubal, killed at the Metaurus, and Mago, who died on the voyage from Liguria to Africa; see on 30, 19, 12. — **ante moenia . . . patriae**: connect with *deprecantem*. — **prope**: connect with *obsessae*. — **patriae**: *native city*; cf. 1, 1, 8.

18. **maximae . . . credendum est**: *the greater our fortune, the less we may rely upon it.* — **ampla**: *honorable*; cf. 27, 51, 9. In Polyb. 15, 7, 9 Hannibal closes his speech as follows: ταύτας γὰρ πέπεισμαι τὰς συνθήκας καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλεστάτας μὲν εἶναι Καρχηδονίοις, ἐνδοξοτάτας δέ σοι καὶ πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις.

19. **haec . . . illa**: by reversal of the ordinary usage *haec* refers to the thing first mentioned; the writer wishes to emphasize the fact that *pax* is within their power, while *victoria* is remote. — **ne . . . dederis**: for the tense see on 9, 11, 13; for the meaning see on 1, 4, 7 *uxori*.

20. **Martem**: *chance*; 10, 28, 1 *communis adhuc Mars belli erat*. — **respondent**: *meet expectation*.

21. **gloriae**: to be taken with both *tantum* and *id*; *you will not add so much glory, if you win a battle, to that which you can now have by granting peace, as you will lose, if you suffer any reverse*.

22. **omnia . . . dederint**: merely a repetition of the thought in § 19. — **tunc**: *in the other case*;

23 quam di dederint. Inter pauca felicitatis virtutisque exempla M. Atilius quondam in hac eadem terra fuisset, si victor pacem petentibus dedisset patribus nostris; sed non statuendo felicitati modum nec cohibendo efferentem se fortu-
24 nam, quanto altius elatus erat, eo foedius conruit. Est quidem eius qui dat, non qui petit, condiciones dicere pacis; sed forsitan non indigni simus, qui nobismet ipsi
25 multam inrogemus. Non recusamus, quin omnia propter quae ad bellum itum est, vestra sint, — Sicilia, Sardinia, Hispania, quidquid insularum toto inter Africam Italiamque
26 continetur mari, — Carthaginienses inclusi Africae litoribus vos, quando ita dis placuit, externa etiam terra marique
27 videamus regentes imperio. Haud negaverim propter non nimis sincere petitam aut expectatam nuper pacem suspec-

i.e. in case of battle; cf. the use of *nunc* in 1, 28, 9.

23. **inter . . . exempla**: *i.e.* he would have been a conspicuous example, one of a few; cf. 22, 7, 1. — **M. Atilius**: Regulus, who in 256, during the First Punic War, led an expedition to Africa, defeated the Carthaginians repeatedly, and overran the country. The Carthaginians finally sued for peace, but refused to accept the humiliating terms offered by the Roman general. Regulus was soon afterward defeated and captured. — **non statuendo . . . fortunam**: *by not setting a limit for success and by not restraining rampant fortune;* the figure in the latter phrase is that of an unruly horse; cf. 30, 20, 4.

24. **multam**: this would include a fine for breaking the peace, and an indemnity to cover the Roman loss.

25. **Sicilia, Sardinia**: see 21, 1, 5. — **quidquid insularum**: a common method of expressing emphatically the idea that everything is included. Corsica had been taken by the Romans in 231, Malta in 218.

26. **etiam**: *even;* connect with *terra marique;* it emphasizes the completeness of the surrender.

27. **propter . . . pacem**: in the previous year the Carthaginians had sought peace of Scipio, and had later sent envoys to Rome, but had tried in every way to delay the negotiations, until Hannibal should reach Africa, when they intended to resume the war; for the terms proposed by

tam esse vobis Punicam fidem. Multum, per quos petita sit, ad fidem tuendae pacis pertinet, Scipio. Vestri quoque, 28
ut audio, patres non nihil etiam ob hoc, quia parum dignitatis in legatione erat, negaverunt pacem: — Hannibal peto 29
pacem, qui neque peterem, nisi utilem crederem, et propter eandem utilitatem tuebor eam, propter quam petii. Et 30
quem ad modum, quia a me bellum coeptum est, ne quem eius paeniteret, quoad ipsi invidere dei, praestiti, ita adnitar, ne quem pacis per me partae paeniteat."

31. Adversus haec imperator Romanus in hanc fere 1
sententiam respondit: "Non me fallebat, Hannibal, adventus tui spe Carthaginienses et praesentem indutiarum fidem et spem pacis turbasse; neque tu id sane dissimulas, 2
qui de condicionibus superioribus pacis omnia subtrahas

Scipio see on 30, 31, 2. — **nimis**: *very*; see on 1, 2, 3 *nimio*. — **vobis**: dat. of agent; see on 21, 34, 9. — **pacis**: obj. gen. with *fidem*.

28. **quoque**: *i.e.* your senate, too, was of the opinion which I have just expressed. — **non nihil**: *somewhat*.

29. **Hannibal**: in place of *ego*, the name calling more vividly to mind his position, his character, and his power over his people. — **neque** = *et non*, the conjunction being correlative with the following *et*; see on 1, 4, 4.

30. **quoad . . . dei**: *until the very gods were envious*, and therefore brought disaster upon him; it was a common belief of Greeks and Romans that the gods brought trouble to those who were conspicuously successful or happy. — **praestiti**: *I exerted myself*.

31. 1. **in . . . sententiam**: see on 7, 30, 1. — **adventus . . . turbasse**: cf. 30, 29, 5. — **praesentem**: agreeing with *fidem* because *indutiarum fidem* is regarded as a single idea; see on 1, 1, 4 *rerum initia*.

2. **de condicionibus superioribus**: Scipio had offered the following terms: 30, 16, 10 ff. *captivos et perfugas et fugitivos restituant; exercitus ex Italia et Gallia deducant; Hispania abstineant; insulis omnibus, quae inter Italiam atque Africam sint, decedant; naves longas praeter viginti omnes tradant, tritici quingenta, hordei trecenta milia modium. Pecuniae summam quantam imperaverit, parum convenit; alibi*

3 praeter ea quae iam pridem in nostra potestate sunt. Ceterum ut tibi curae est sentire cives tuos, quanto per te onere leventur, sic mihi laborandum est, ne, [si] quae tunc pepigerunt, hodie subtracta ex condicionibus pacis praemia
4 perfidiae habeant. Indigni, quibus eadem pateat condicio, etiam ut prosit vobis fraus petitis. Neque patres nostri priores de Sicilia, neque nos de Hispania fecimus bellum; et tunc Mamertinorum sociorum periculum et nunc Sagunti
5 excidium nobis pia ac iusta induerunt arma; vos lacessisse et tu ipse fateris et dei testes sunt, qui et illius belli exitum secundum ius fasque dederunt et huius dant et dabunt.
6 Quod ad me attinet, et humanae infirmitatis memini et vim fortunae reputo et omnia, quaecumque agimus, subiecta
7 esse mille casibus scio; ceterum, quem ad modum superbe et violenter me faterer facere, si, priusquam in Africam traiecissem, te tua voluntate cedentem Italia et inposito in

quinque milia talentum, alibi quinque milia pondo argenti, alibi duplex stipendium militibus imperatum invenio. — **subtrahas**: a relative causal clause.

3. **curae est**: elsewhere in Livy with a substantive as subject or with a dependent *ut* or *ne* clause; *e.g.* 2, 24, 4; the use of the dependent inf. is found in later writers. — **pepigerunt**: Scipio had stipulated that, if they accepted his terms, they should make a truce and send envoys to Rome; this they had done, but the nature and conduct of the embassy were such that it was summarily dismissed by the senate. The Carthaginians thus gained the time needed for the return of Hannibal.

4. **indigni . . . petitis**: *you who do not deserve the same terms, actually expect your treachery to bring you better ones. condicio* is the whole arrangement, including all the *condiciones* mentioned in § 2. — **priores**: sc. also with *nos; i.e.* neither did our fathers begin the first war, nor we this one. — **pia ac iusta**: see on 9, 1, 10.

5. **tu ipse fateris**: see 30, 30, 30.

6. **humanae infirmitatis . . . scio**: referring to 30, 30, 19 and 21.

7. **faterer, aspernarer**: the thought is presented vividly as a non-occurrent condition in present time. — **ipsum**: like *tua voluntate, of your own accord;* as we say colloquially, *of one's self.*

naves exercitu ipsum venientem ad pacem petendam aspernarer, sic nunc, cum prope manu conserta restitantem ac 8
tergiversantem in Africam adtraxerim, nulla sum tibi verecundia obstrictus. Proinde si quid ad ea, in quae tum pax 9
conventura videbatur, quasi multa navium cum commeatu per indutias expugnatarum legatorumque violatorum, adicitur, est quod referam ad consilium; sin illa quoque gravia videntur, bellum parate, quoniam pacem pati non potuistis."

Ita infecta pace ex conloquio ad suos cum se recepissent, 10
frustra verba iactata renuntiant: armis decernendum esse habendamque eam fortunam quam dei dedissent.

8. **manu conserta**: *by actual force*; the singular, as in 21, 41, 4; usually the plural, as in 1, 25, 5. — **nulla . . . obstrictus**: *i.e.* I am under no obligation to be modest in my attitude toward you.

9. **ad ea . . . videbatur**: *to those terms on which peace then seemed about to be arranged, i.e.* in the negotiations of the previous year. For this use of *in* cf. § 1 *in . . . sententiam* and 29, 12, 14 *in eas condiciones cum pax conveniret*. — **quasi multa navium**: *as a fine for the vessels*; see 30, 37, 6. The gen. with *multa* regularly gives the amount of the fine, not the crime; cf. 30, 37, 1 *perfidiae*. — **commeatu**: *supplies*. — **expugnatarum, violatorum**: see on 1, 3, 4 *deductam*. During the truce of 203 a fleet of 30 ships of war and 200 transports loaded with supplies for the Roman forces in Africa, within sight of Carthage was scattered by a storm. The vessels were seized by the Carthaginians. The envoys sent by Scipio to remonstrate barely escaped violent treatment in Carthage and were almost captured on their return. — **est quod . . . consilium**: *there is something for me to refer to my council*. The membership of a general's council was not definitely fixed by law or custom. The *legati* and *tribuni* were always members, and, at the general's discretion, some of the centurions. Polyb. 15, 8, 14 gives Scipio's demand, which Livy, strangely enough, omits: τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ὑμᾶς διδόναι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἢ μαχομένους νικᾶν. — **illa**: the terms formerly offered.

10. **iactata**: the verb well describes what has taken place, at least in Livy's description of the meeting; the terms proposed by Hannibal can hardly be regarded

Terms of Peace

1 37. Postero die revocatis legatis et cum multa castigatione perfidiae monitis, ut tot cladibus edocti tandem deos
2 et ius iurandum esse crederent, condiciones pacis dictae, ut liberi legibus suis viverent; quas urbes quosque agros quibusque finibus ante bellum tenuissent, tenerent, popu-
3 landique finem eo die Romanus faceret; perfugas fugitivosque et captivos omnis redderent Romanis et naves rostratas praeter decem triremes traderent elephantosque, quos ha-

as an ultimatum, Scipio has made no proposal whatever, and there has been nothing in the nature of a conference.

Chaps. 32–36 contain the description of the battle of Zama. References (including the treaty and its ratification): Polyb. 15, 9–19. App. *Lib.* 40–66. Ihne, 2, 449–458. Mommsen, 2, 359–363. Dodge, *Hannibal*, 596–612.

After the battle Scipio returned to the coast and, sending his legions by land, himself went by sea to Utica. He finally encamped at Tunes, where he received the Carthaginian envoys.

37. 1. **perfidiae**: gen. of the crime; cf. 30, 31, 9 *navium*. The word refers particularly to the treachery of the Carthaginians in the negotiations of the previous year.

2. **liberi**: their freedom was restricted by the prohibition of § 4. Moreover, according to Appian 54 they were to be friends and allies of the Romans, κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, a stipulation of which Livy appears to have been aware; 36, 4, 10 *de classe Carthaginiensibus remissum, praeterquam si quid navium ex foedere deberent*. — **quas . . . tenerent**: this statement also must be taken with restrictions; Polyb. 15, 18, 1 says they were to retain the possessions which they had had in Libya before the war. Appian 54 says that they were to withdraw their garrisons from towns which lay outside the Φοινίκιδες τάφροι. — **quibusque finibus**: an unnecessary and somewhat awkward addition; *quibusque finibus eos* (*agros*) *tenuissent* would be a full statement of the thought. — **Romanus**: collective, as in 1, 25, 12 *Romanus Albano imperet*.

3. **fugitivos**: *runaway slaves*. — **naves rostratas**: including, as is clear from *praeter . . . triremes*, not only triremes, but larger vessels, of four and five banks of oars.

berent domitos, neque domarent alios; bellum neve in 4
Africa neve extra Africam iniussu populi Romani gererent; Masinissae res redderent foedusque cum eo facerent; frumentum stipendiumque auxiliis, donec ab Roma legati 5
redissent, praestarent; decem milia talentūm argenti, discripta pensionibus aequis in annos quinquaginta, solverent; obsides centum arbitratu Scipionis darent, ne minores quat- 6
tuordecim annis neu triginta maiores. Indutias ita se daturum, si per priores indutias naves onerariae captae, quaeque fuissent in navibus, restituerentur; aliter nec indutias nec spem pacis ullam esse.

Has condiciones legati cum domum referre iussi in con- 7
tione ederent, et Gisgo ad dissuadendam pacem processisset audireturque a multitudine inquieta eadem et inbelli,

— **haberent domitos**: see on 3, 48, 1. — **neque** = *et ne*; see on 3, 44, 5.

4. **bellum . . . gererent**: the statement of Polybius is somewhat different: *πόλεμον μηδενὶ τῶν ἔξω τῆς Λιβύης ἐπιφέρειν καθόλου μηδὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ χωρὶς τῆς Ῥωμαίων γνώμης*. According to Appian, the prohibition was less sweeping: *μήτε Μασσανάσσῃ μήτε ἄλλῳ Ῥωμαίων φίλῳ πολεμεῖν*. It was this stipulation and the indefinite nature of the Numidian boundaries which offered a pretext for the Third Punic War.

5. **auxiliis**: according to Polybius and Appian, for the whole army. — **legati**: the Carthaginian envoys who would be sent to Rome with power to ratify the treaty. — **decem milia talentum**: Polybius and Appian specify Euboean talents, the value of which was about $1160. Appian makes the annual payment 250 instead of 200 talents. — **pensionibus aequis**: see on 6, 35, 4.

6. **centum**: Polybius gives the same number; in 40, 34, 14 (cf. 32, 2, 3) Livy speaks as if there were more, — a confusion due, no doubt, to the fact that hostages were sometimes returned, new ones being sent in their places. — **ne**: justified by the imperative nature of the sentence; *ne obsides minores . . . darent* would be the full form. — **minores, maiores**: for omission of *natu*, see on 1, 3, 2. — **ita**: referring forward to *si . . . restituerentur*.

7. **contione**: Appian says that the people discussed the terms for several days.

8 indignatus Hannibal dici ea in tali tempore audirique, adreptum Gisgonem manu sua ex superiore loco detraxit. Quae insueta liberae civitati species cum fremitum populi movis-
9 set, perturbatus militaris vir urbana libertate "Novem" inquit "annorum a vobis profectus post sextum et tricesimum annum redii. Militares artes, quas me a puero fortuna
10 nunc privata nunc publica docuit, probe videor scire; urbis ac fori iura, leges, mores vos me oportet doceatis." Excusata inprudentia de pace multis verbis disseruit, quam nec
11 iniqua et necessaria esset. Id omnium maxime difficile erat, quod ex navibus per indutias captis nihil praeter ipsas conparebat naves; nec inquisitio erat facilis, adversanti-
12 bus paci qui arguerentur. Placuit naves reddi et homines utique inquiri; cetera, quae abessent, aestimanda Scipioni
13 permitti, atque ita pecunia luere Carthaginienses. Sunt qui Hannibalem ex acie ad mare pervenisse, inde praepa-

8. **quae . . . species**: *this spectacle, strange to a free state*; for this passive use of *insuetus* cf. 3, 52, 5. — **perturbatus**: *i.e.* accustomed to military discipline, he was amazed at their expressions of disapproval; he had not appreciated the freedom of a city populace.

9. **novem annorum**: cf. 21, 1, 4 and see on 21, 4, 1; the gen. is descriptive. — **nunc . . . nunc**: cf. 30, 30, 10 *iam . . . iam*; not equivalent to *et . . . et*, but indicating different periods of time. — **privata, publica**: by the former he means that he was of a military family, and naturally was trained in warfare by his father; by the latter, that he was appointed general, to command the forces of the state.

10. **nec . . . et** = *et non . . . et*; cf. 1, 28, 5.

11. **id**: referring forward to *quod . . . arguerentur*. — **adversantibus . . . arguerentur**: those who were charged with the possession of property taken from the Roman vessels became opponents of the peace, and, if pushed too hard, might cause its rejection; *arguerentur* is iterative.

12. **homines . . . inquiri**: *that the men at all events* (those captured on the vessels) *should be discovered.* — **luere**: *make compensation.*

rata nave ad regem Antiochum extemplo profectum tradant, postulantique ante omnia Scipioni, ut Hannibal sibi traderetur, responsum esse Hannibalem in Africa non esse.

BOOK XXXIII

Proclamation of Greek Freedom after the Battle of Cynoscephalae

32. Isthmiorum statum ludicrum aderat, semper quidem et alias frequens cum propter spectaculi studium insitum genti, quo certamina omnis generis artium viriumque et pernicitatis visuntur, tum quia propter opportunitatem loci, per duo diversa maria omnium rerum usus ministrantis humano generi, concilium Asiae Graeciaeque is mercatus erat; tum vero non ad solitos modo usus undique convenerant, 1 196 B.C. 2 3

Book XXXIII. **32, 33.** References: Polyb. 18, 46. Plut. *Flam.* 10. Ihne, 3, 68–69.

32. 1. **Isthmiorum**: the Isthmian games were celebrated near Corinth, in the first and third years of each Olympiad. They included gymnastic exercises, horse races, and competitions in music and poetry. In the negotiations with Philip after his defeat at Cynoscephalae, the senate had stipulated that he should withdraw his garrisons from Greek towns before the Isthmian games. — **semper . . . alias**: contrasted with *tum vero* in § 3. — **quo**: *in which*; *spectaculi* is the antecedent. — **artium . . . pernicitatis**: *virium* and *pernicitatis*, including all the athletic sports, are contrasted with *artium*, comprising only poetry and music; *virium* includes boxing, wrestling, jumping, the javelin, and the discus; *pernicitatis* includes races in chariots, on horseback, and on foot. — **visuntur**: applied somewhat incorrectly to the poetical and musical contests, which were, however, subordinate; cf. moreover, the common use of *video*, as, *e.g.*, in 34, 31, 13 *me . . . tyrannum vocari video.*

2. **omnium . . . ministrantis**: *supplying necessities of all sorts*; cf. 5, 47, 8 and the meaning of *usus* in the next section. — **concilium . . . erat**: *that market was the meeting place of Asia and Greece.* All the great festivals were fairs, and people came to buy and sell, as well as to see and hear.

3. **usus**: *purposes*, including *spectaculi studium.* — **erecti**: *on*

sed expectatione erecti, qui deinde status futurus Graeciae, quae sua fortuna esset; alii alia non taciti solum opinabantur sed sermonibus etiam ferebant Romanos facturos; vix
4 cuiquam persuadebatur Graecia omni cessuros. Ad spectaculum consederant, et praeco cum tubicine, ut mos est, in mediam aream, unde sollemni carmine ludicrum indici solet,
5 processit et tuba silentio facto ita pronuntiat: "Senatus Romanus et T. Quinctius imperator, Philippo rege Macedonibusque devictis, liberos, inmunes, suis legibus esse iubet Corinthios, Phocenses, Locrensesque omnis et insulam Euboeam et Magnetas, Thessalos, Perrhaebos, Achaeos
6 Phthiotas." Percensuerat omnis gentis, quae sub dicione Philippi regis fuerant. Audita voce praeconis maius gau-
7 dium fuit quam quod universum homines acciperent. Vix

tiptoe. — **deinde**: *from that time on*. — **alia**: obj. of *facturos*, the ind. disc. being introduced by both verbs, *opinabantur* and *ferebant*.

4. **ad spectaculum**: cf. 21, 42, 1. — **aream**: the stadium. — **sollemni carmine**: *in established formula*; for the meaning of *sollemni* see on 3, 36, 3.

5. **senatus**: theoretically, the right to declare war and conclude peace belonged to the people; in practice, both questions were decided by the senate. Val. Max. 4, 8, 5 has *senatus populusque Romanus*, and so Appian. — **T. Quinctius**: T. Quinctius Flamininus, consul in 198 and commander in the second war against Philip of Macedon, whom he defeated at Cynoscephalae in Thessaly in 197. — **liberos**: politically free. — **inmunes**: exempt from taxation; cf. 21, 45, 5. — **suis legibus**: repeating somewhat more definitely the idea of *liberos*; cf. 33, 30, 1 f. *pax data Philippo in has leges est, ut omnes Graecorum civitates, quae in Europa quaeque in Asia essent, libertatem ac suas haberent leges*. — **iubet**: for the singular verb see on 1, 3, 1. — **Locrensesque omnis**: Ozolian, Epicnemidian, and Opuntian. — **Perrhaebos**: in southern Thessaly. — **Achaeos Phthiotas**: southeast of Thessaly. In 33, 34, 6 the Orestae and Dolopes also are mentioned.

6. **omnis gentis**: other states which had been in alliance with Philip had already been won over by Flamininus or had been subdued. — **quam . . . acciperent**: cf.

satis credere se quisque audisse, et alii alios intueri mirabundi velut ad somni vanam speciem; quod ad quemque pertinebat, suarum aurium fidei minimum credentes, proximos interrogabant. Revocatus praeco, cum unusquisque 8
non audire modo sed videre libertatis suae nuntium averet, iterum pronuntiavit eadem. Tum ab certo iam gaudio tan- 9
tus cum clamore plausus est ortus totiensque repetitus, ut facile adpareret nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius quam libertatem esse. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim perac- 10
tum est, ut nullius nec animi nec oculi spectaculo intenti essent; adeo unum gaudium praeoccupaverat omnium aliarum sensum voluptatium.

33. Ludis vero dimissis cursu prope omnes tendere ad 1
imperatorem Romanum, ut ruente turba in unum adire, 2
contingere dextram cupientium, coronas lemniscosque iacientium haud procul periculo fuerit. Sed erat trium 3
ferme et triginta annorum, et cum robur iuventae tum

9, 9, 14; 27, 50, 7. — **universum**: *all at once.*

7. **ad**: for the meaning see on 1, 25, 6. — **quod . . . pertinebat**: *as to that which concerned them individually; i.e.* the treatment of their own states.

9. **ab**: denoting cause, as in 1, 1, 4. — **iam**: connect with *certo.*

10. **animi**: apparently an unparalleled use of the plural in this sense, applied to one person. — **praeoccupaverat**: *prevented.*

33. 1. **ludis . . . dimissis**: the festival, for those attending it; as colloquially in English, "The play is out;" cf. 26, 15, 6 *dimittens praetorium.* The opposite, *ludos committere*, is of frequent occurrence. — **cursu**: *on the run;* cf. 9, 13, 2 *cursu in hostem feruntur.*

2. **in unum**: *to one place, together;* connect with *ruente.* — **adire, contingere**: this asyndeton and that between *cupientium* and *iacientium* emphasize the excitement of the crowd. — **coronas lemniscosque**: *crowns with pendent ribbons;* crowns thus adorned were the highest reward of victors in war and in the public games. — **fuerit**: for the tense see on 1, 3, 4; *imperator* is the subject.

3. **trium . . . triginta**: consistent with the statement of Plutarch

gaudium ex tam insigni gloriae fructu vires suppeditabat.
4 Nec praesens tantummodo effusa est laetitia, sed per multos dies gratis et cogitationibus et sermonibus renovata:
5 esse aliquam in terris gentem, quae sua inpensa, suo labore
6 ac periculo bella gerat pro libertate aliorum nec hoc finitimis aut propinquae vicinitatis hominibus aut terris continentibus iunctis praestet, sed maria traiciat, ne quod toto
7 orbe terrarum iniustum imperium sit, ubique ius, fas, lex potentissima sint. Vna voce praeconis liberatas omnis
8 Graeciae atque Asiae urbes; hoc spe concipere audacis animi fuisse, ad effectum adducere et virtutis et fortunae ingentis.

Book XXXVIII

Trial of Scipio

4 **50.** Oppressit deinde mentionem memoriamque omnem
187 B.C. contentionis huius maius et cum maiore et clariore viro

that when elected consul (199) he was not yet thirty. — **gloriae fructu**: *accession of fame*; cf. 27, 45, 5.

4. **gratis**: *grateful*; qualifying the two following nouns.

6. **hoc . . . praestet**: *render this service.* — **propinquae vicinitatis**: indicating those somewhat more remote than *finitimi.* — **iunctis**: qualifying *hominibus*; lit. *those connected by adjoining lands*; these, though more remote than those *propinquae vicinitatis*, would be more accessible than those living across the sea.

7. **ubique**: *but that everywhere*; adversative asyndeton. — **ius, fas, lex**: Livy has *ius fasque* or *ius ac fas* frequently, but not elsewhere this combination. *ius* and *lex* are often synonymous, but here *ius* is the abstract principle of human law as opposed to that of divine law (*fas*), while *lex* is the concrete body of law. — **Asiae urbes**: not mentioned in the proclamation, which had included only the states actually subject to Philip; see 33, 30, 1 f. quoted on 33, 32, 5.

Book XXXVIII. **50⁴–53**. References: Polyb. 23, 14. Val. Max. 3, 7, 1; 5, 3, 2. Gell. 4, 18;

certamen ortum. P. Scipioni Africano, ut Valerius Antias 5
auctor est, duo Q. Petillii diem dixerunt. Id, prout cuius-
que ingenium erat, interpretabantur. Alii non tribunos 6
plebis, sed universam civitatem, quae id pati posset, incusa-
bant: duas maximas orbis terrarum urbes ingratas uno 7
prope tempore in principes inventas, Romam ingratiorem,
si quidem victa Carthago victum Hannibalem in exilium
expulisset, Roma victrix victorem Africanum expellat.
Alii, neminem unum civem tantum eminere debere, ut legi- 8

7, 19. App. *Syr.* 40. Ihne, 4, 326–332. Mommsen, 2, 483–484.

50. 4. **contentionis huius**: regarding the triumph claimed by Cn. Manlius for his operations in Asia. — **maius et . . . viro**: for the combination of attributives of different form see on 21, 29, 4.

5. **Valerius Antias**: see *Introd.* 7. — **Q. Petillii**: Dio Cassius, fr. 70, says they were ἀδελφοί (brothers or, possibly, cousins); according to Plut. *Cato Major* 15, it was Cato who induced them to bring the charge. Only one could legally appear as plaintiff, and only one is mentioned by Polybius and Aurelius Victor. There is much confusion in ancient writers regarding this trial and the end of Scipio's life; 38, 56, 2 *non de accusatore convenit — alii M. Naevium, alii Petillios diem dixisse scribunt —, non de tempore quo dicta dies sit, non de anno quo mortuus sit, non ubi mortuus aut elatus sit. Alii Romae, alii Literni et mortuum et sepultum.* Gell. 4, 18 gives Naevius as the plaintiff. The confusion is probably due to the fact that there were two distinct prosecutions, the first brought by the Petillii against L. Scipio, the second by Naevius against Africanus. If the date of the tribuneship of Naevius is correctly given by Livy 39, 52, 4, this second prosecution did not occur till 185. — **diem dixerunt**: for the charge see 38, 51, 1.

6. **tribunos plebis**: the Petillii.

7. **Carthago . . . expulisset**: Hannibal's political enemies in Carthage reported to the Romans that he was trying to induce Antiochus, king of Syria, to make war upon Rome. On the approach of Roman envoys he fled to Antiochus at Ephesus. This was in 193. He never returned to Carthage. — **expulisset . . . expellat**: a striking instance of the freedom which Livy allowed himself in the sequence of tenses; see on 1, 27, 8. — **Roma . . . Africanum**: note the chiastic order and cf. the preceding *victa . . . Hannibalem.*

bus interrogari non possit; nihil tam aequandae libertatis esse quam potentissimum quemque posse dicere causam. 9 Quid autem tuto cuiquam, nedum summam rem publicam, permitti, si ratio non sit reddenda? Qui ius aequum pati 10 non possit, in cum vim haud iniustam esse. Haec agitata sermonibus, donec dies causae dicendae venit. Nec alius antea quisquam nec ille ipse Scipio consul censorve maiore omnis generis hominum frequentia quam reus illo die in 11 forum est deductus. Iussus dicere causam, sine ulla criminum mentione orationem adeo magnificam de rebus ab se gestis est exorsus, ut satis constaret neminem umquam 12 neque melius neque verius laudatum esse. Dicebantur

8. neminem unum civem: *no single citizen;* see on 3, 45, 4 *quisquam unus*, and, for the adj. use of *nemo*, cf. 9, 9, 16. — **legibus interrogari**: lit. *be examined as to the laws;* a technical term, referring to the custom of asking the defendant, when the charge was made, whether or not he had broken the law in question. — **tam**: qualifying *aequandae libertatis* as if the phrase were an adj.; cf. 25, 31, 15 *ni tam in tempore subvenisset*. — **aequandae libertatis**: descriptive genitive, giving the tendency or purpose of *nihil*. — **posse dicere causam**: *i.e.* could be accused, so that he would be compelled to defend himself.

9. nedum: used regularly, as a negative (*nihil*) is implied in the preceding words; Livy does, however, use *nedum* where no negative is expressed or implied, as, *e.g.*, in 9, 18, 4. — **vim**: referring to the present charge, though the statement is a general one. The idea is this, that if Scipio were subject to the same laws as other citizens, there would be no question as to his liability to scrutiny; if he holds himself exempt and fears investigation, severe treatment is justified.

10. dies causae dicendae: such a case was tried before an informal assembly of the people (*contio*). The trial was adjourned (*diem prodicere*) three times; at the fourth *contio* the magistrate gave his decision, and seventeen days later this was submitted to the *comitia* for approval.

11. sine . . . mentione: connect with *est exorsus*. — **orationem**: referring, not to the brief speech of 38, 51, 7 ff., but to a much longer one omitted by Livy possibly because it was not preserved in the confused tradition of the trial. — **melius**: *i.e.* for better things.

enim ab *eo* eodem animo ingenioque quo gesta erant et aurium fastidium aberat, quia pro periculo, non in gloriam referebantur.

51. Tribuni vetera luxuriae crimina Syracusanorum 1
hibernorum et Locris Pleminianum tumultum cum ad
fidem praesentium criminum rettulissent, suspicionibus
magis quam argumentis pecuniae captae reum accusarunt:
filium captum sine pretio redditum, omnibusque aliis re- 2
bus Scipionem, tamquam in eius unius manu pax Romana
bellumque esset, ab Antiocho cultum; dictatorem eum 3
consuli, non legatum in provincia fuisse; nec ad aliam rem

12. **dicebantur**: sc. *res.* — **aurium fastidium aberat**: *there was no feeling of disgust in his hearers.* — **in gloriam**: see on 21, 43, 7.

51. 1. **luxuriae**: *excesses.* — **Syracusanorum hibernorum**: Scipio spent the winter of 205–204 in Sicily with an army of volunteers, the senate having refused the army which he needed for his proposed expedition to Africa. The charge here mentioned is given in detail in 29, 19, 11 f. — **Locris**: locative; for this attributive use cf. 36, 15, 1 *amoena Chalcide hiberna.* Locri was near the southern extremity of Italy. — **Pleminianum**: Pleminius was Scipio's legate, who was left in charge of the recently conquered town of Locri. His treatment of the inhabitants was so cruel that they sent envoys to Rome to protest; in the course of the investigation, it was asserted that Scipio had continued him in command even after learning of these outrages. — **cum**: for the position see on 21, 34, 4. — **ad fidem**: *to give color to*; see on 21, 34, 3. — **rettulissent**: *recalled.* — **pecuniae captae**: a technical term for the illegal taking of money. Gellius states the charge more definitely, — *accepisse a rege Antiocho pecuniam, ut condicionibus gratiosis et mollibus pax cum eo populi Romani nomine fieret.*

2. **filium . . . redditum**: equivalent to the taking of money. This was the younger of Scipio's two sons, who was elected praetor in 174, but, in the same year, because of his evil ways, was expelled from the senate. — **Romana**: connect also with *bellum.* — **Antiocho**: L. Cornelius Scipio, brother of Africanus, was consul in 190 and was given the province of Greece and the conduct of the war against Antiochus chiefly on the promise of Africanus to accompany his

eo profectum, quam ut, id quod Hispaniae, Galliae, Siciliae, Africae iam pridem persuasum esset, hoc Graeciae Asiaeque et omnibus ad orientem versis regibus gentibusque
4 adpareret, unum hominem caput columenque imperi Romani esse, sub umbra Scipionis civitatem dominam orbis terrarum latere, nutum eius pro decretis patrum, pro populi iussis esse. Infamia intactum invidia, qua possunt,
5 urgent. Orationibus in noctem perductis prodicta dies est.
6 Vbi ea venit, tribuni in rostris prima luce consederunt; citatus reus magno agmine amicorum clientiumque per mediam
7 contionem ad rostra subiit silentioque facto, "Hoc" inquit "die, tribuni plebis vosque, Quirites, cum Hannibale et Carthaginiensibus signis conlatis in Africa bene ac feliciter
8 pugnavi. Itaque, cum hodie litibus et iurgiis supersederi

brother as *legatus*. Antiochus was defeated near Magnesia in the same year.

3. **Hispaniae**: Scipio took Carthago Nova in 210, soon after his arrival in Spain, and within three years drove the Carthaginians entirely out of the country. — **Galliae**: in 194, during his second consulship, he made an expedition, apparently of little importance, into the countries of the Boii and Ligurians. — **Siciliae**: see on § 1. His operations in Sicily are described in detail in Bk. XXIX, chap. 1.

4. **sub umbra**: cf. 7, 30, 18. — **infamia . . . urgent**: *untouched by disgrace, they assail him as they can with envy; i.e.* as they could bring no definite charge capable of proof, they tried to arouse envy and hatred by ascribing to him an arrogant assumption of power.

5. **prodicta**: see on 38, 50, 10.

6. **tribuni**: the judges; the tribunes, of whom there were at this time ten, presided in the *concilium plebis*, the court before which exmagistrates were called to account. The present meeting, being preliminary in its nature, was, however, a *contio*, not a formal assembly. — **rostris**: see on 27, 50, 9. — **consederunt**: used technically of a judge taking his official seat; cf. 3, 46, 9 *sedisse*. — **agmine**: see on 3, 50, 3. — **subiit**: cf. 38, 52, 11 *sub rostris . . . stare*.

7. **hoc . . . die**: it was the anniversary of the battle of Zama.

8. **litibus . . . supersederi**: as on the day of a festival; Cic. *Leg.* 2, 29 *feriarum festorumque dierum*

aequum sit, ego hinc extemplo in Capitolium ad Iovem Optimum Maximum Iunonemque et Minervam ceterosque deos qui Capitolio atque arci praesident salutandos ibo, hisque gratias agam, quod mihi et hoc ipso die et saepe 9 alias egregie gerendae rei publicae mentem facultatemque dederunt. Vestrum quoque quibus commodum est, Qui- 10 rites, ite mecum, et orate deos, ut mei similes principes habeatis, ita, si ab annis septemdecim ad senectutem sem- 11 per vos aetatem meam honoribus vestris anteistis, ego vestros honores rebus gerendis praecessi." Ab rostris in 12 Capitolium ascendit. Simul se universa contio avertit et secuta Scipionem est, adeo ut postremo scribae viatoresque tribunos relinquerent, nec cum iis praeter servilem comitatum et praeconem, qui reum ex rostris citabat, quisquam esset. Scipio non in Capitolio modo, sed per totam urbem 13 omnia templa deum cum populo Romano circumiit. Cele- 14

ratio in liberis requietem habet litium et iurgiorum, in servis operum et laborum. — **Capitolium**: the southern summit of the Capitoline Hill; see on 5, 39, 9. — **Iovem . . . praesident**: a regular formula. The great temple had three *cellae*, that of Jupiter in the middle, Juno on the left, Minerva on the right. — **ceterosque deos**: besides the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitolium and that of Juno Moneta on the Arx, there were on the hill at this time temples or shrines of Jupiter Custos, Jupiter Feretrius, Fides, Mens, Venus, Ops, Veiovis, and Concordia.

9. **mentem facultatemque**: *the ability and the opportunity.*

11. **ita**: *on this condition.* — **ab annis septemdecim**: the year when he was first liable to military service; he is first mentioned in 218, when, according to Livy 21, 46, 7, he saved his father's life at the Battle of the Trebia; he was then probably in his seventeenth year. — **aetatem . . . anteistis**: a general statement, not referring to violations of the *lex annalis*, which was not passed till 180.

12. **servilem comitatum**: *their attendant slaves.* — **qui . . . citabat**: *who from the rostra kept summoning the defendant.*

14. **prope**: the separation of the adv. from its adj. is unusual; cf. 39, 40, 5 *pariter*. — **aestima-**

bratior is prope dies favore hominum et aestimatione vera magnitudinis eius fuit, quam quo triumphans de Syphace rege et Carthaginiensibus urbem est invectus.

1 **52.** Hic speciosus ultimus dies P. Scipioni inluxit. Post quem cum invidiam et certamina cum tribunis prospiceret, die longiore prodicta, in Literninum concessit certo consilio, 2 ne ad causam dicendam adesset. Maior animus et natura erat ac maiori fortunae adsuetus, quam ut reus esse sciret 3 et submittere se in humilitatem causam dicentium. Vbi dies venit citarique absens est coeptus, L. Scipio morbum 4 causae esse, cur abesset, excusabat. Quam excusationem cum tribuni qui diem dixerant non acciperent, et ab eadem superbia non venire ad causam dicendam arguerent, qua 5 iudicium et tribunos plebis et contionem reliquisset, et, quibus ius sententiae de se dicendae et libertatem ademisset,

tione: *recognition*. — **de**: cf. 21, 46, 8 *victoriam de Hannibale*; 30, 30, 4.

52. 1. **hic . . . dies**: with *hic* sc. *dies*, and take *speciosus . . . dies* as pred. nom; *this was the last bright day that dawned for P. Scipio*. — **die . . . prodicta**: *a more distant day having been appointed*; *i.e.* the adjournment was for a longer time than usual; why this was so, it is difficult to see. — **Literninum**: sc. *praedium*. Liternum was on the Campanian coast north of Cumae, where Scipio apparently had an estate; see § 7 *ex villa sua*. He was not technically an exile, as Liternum was a Roman colony; 39, 52, 9 *Scipio etsi non exul neque damnatus, die tamen dicta ad quam non adfuerat reus, absens citatus, voluntarium non sibimet ipse solum, sed etiam funeri suo exilium indixit*.

2. **adsuetus**: sc. *Scipio*; the change of subject is awkward, and we should perhaps read *animo* instead of *animus*. — **sciret**: for the meaning cf. 9, 4, 3.

3. **causae**: dat. of tendency or result; Lane, 1219; cf. § 10. — **excusabat**: *offered as an excuse*; with an object clause, *morbum . . . esse*.

4. **tribuni**: the plaintiffs, the Petillii, who had the privilege of protesting the excuse. — **ab . . . superbia**: see on 33, 32, 9. — **venire**: sc. *eum*; see on 1, 25, 7 *secuturos*. — **qua**: connect with *egisset* and *fecisset*, as well as with *reliquisset*.

his comitatus, velut captos trahens, triumphum de populo Romano egisset secessionemque eo die in Capitolium a tribunis plebis fecisset: — "Habetis ergo temeritatis illius 6
mercedem; quo duce et auctore nos reliquistis, ab eo ipsi relicti estis, et tantum animorum in dies nobis decrescit, 7
ut, ad quem ante annos septemdecim exercitum et classem habentem tribunos plebis aedilemque mittere in Siciliam ausi sumus, qui prenderent eum et Romam reducerent, ad eum privatum ex villa sua extrahendum ad causam dicendam mittere non audeamus" —; tribuni plebis appellati 8
ab L. Scipione ita decreverunt: si morbi causa excusaretur, sibi placere accipi eam causam diemque a collegis prodici. Tribunus plebis eo tempore Ti. Sempronius Gracchus erat, 9
cui inimicitiae cum P. Scipione intercedebant. Is, cum

5. **quibus**: dat. with *ademisset*; the antecedent is *his*. — **libertatem**: *i.e.* he had made himself their master; the same idea is contained in *captos* — **his**: the regular abl. of means with *comitatus* in a passive sense. — **captos trahens**: as the general, marching in triumphal procession to the Capitol, was accompanied by his most important captives. — **triumphum . . . egisset**: *had triumphed*; cf. 5, 10, 4 *custodiam agerent*; 24, 45, 4 *arbitria agere*. These combinations are mere circumlocutions for the action indicated by the noun.

6. **habetis** etc.: the abrupt change to the direct discourse is somewhat harsh.

7. **tantum . . . decrescit**: *so much of our courage is disappearing every day*. For the plural *animorum* see on 1, 25, 3, and for the dat. *nobis* see on 1, 5, 6 *Numitori*. — **ante annos septemdecim**: at the time of the Locrian incident; see on 38, 51, 1. This embassy was sent to discover whether Pleminius had acted with the approval of Scipio, and, if so, to remove Scipio from his command.

8. **tribuni plebis**: the plaintiffs. — **appellati**: against the protest of § 4. — **causa**: nom.; *if the excuse of illness was offered*. — **diemque . . . prodici**: *i.e.* though they had no faith in the excuse, they were willing to accept it, if their colleagues would merely postpone the trial.

9. **Gracchus**: father of the famous tribunes. — **cui . . . intercedebant**: *between whom and P. Scipio*

vetuisset nomen suum decreto collegarum adscribi, tristio-
10 remque omnes sententiam expectarent, ita decrevit: cum
L. Scipio excusasset morbum esse causae fratri, satis id
sibi videri; se P. Scipionem, priusquam Romam redisset,
accusari non passurum; tum quoque, si se appellet, auxilio
11 ei futurum, ne causam dicat; ad id fastigium rebus gestis,
honoribus populi Romani P. Scipionem deorum hominum-
que consensu pervenisse, ut sub rostris reum stare et prae-
bere aures adolescentium conviciis populo Romano magis
deforme quam ipsi sit.

1 53. Adiecit decreto indignationem: "Sub pedibus ves-
2 tris stabit, tribuni, domitor ille Africae Scipio? Ideo
quattuor nobilissimos duces Poenorum in Hispania, quat-
tuor exercitus fudit fugavitque? Ideo Syphacem cepit,
Hannibalem devicit, Carthaginem vectigalem nobis fecit,
3 Antiochum — recipit enim fratrem consortem huius glo-
riae L. Scipio — ultra iuga Tauri emovit, ut duobus
Petilliis succumberet, *et* vos de P. Africano palmam

there were unfriendly relations. — **tristiorem**: *more severe.*

10. **priusquam . . . redisset**: until Scipio returned voluntarily; he would not approve the appointment of a definite day for the trial. — **non passurum**: his veto would be sufficient.

11. **deorum hominumque**: referring respectively to *rebus gestis* and *honoribus*.

53. 1. **indignationem**: *an indignant speech*; see on 3, 48, 9.

2. **ideo**: *for this purpose.* — **quattuor . . . duces**: the two Hasdrubals, Hanno, and Mago. — **Syphacem cepit**: Syphax was in fact taken by Masinissa and delivered to Scipio. — **vectigalem**: not strictly true, as the payment made by Carthage was a war indemnity, not a tax; in 36, 4, 7 it is called *stipendium*. Cf. the similar exaggeration in 21, 41, 7 *Hannibal . . . vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a patre relictus.*

3. **Antiochum . . . emovit**: in the treaty of 188 Antiochus gave up his possessions west of the Taurus Mountains; see on 38, 51, 2. — **duobus Petilliis**: *to two Petillii*; contrasted with those just named. — **vos**: the other tribunes,

petereti s? Nullisne meritis suis, nullis nostris honoribus 4
umquam in arcem tutam et velut sanctam clari viri per-
venient, ubi, si non venerabilis, inviolata saltem senectus
eorum considat?" Movit et decretum et adiecta oratio non 5
ceteros modo, sed ipsos etiam accusatores, et deliberaturos
se, quid iuris sui et offici esset, dixerunt. Senatus deinde, 6
concilio plebis dimisso, haberi est coeptus. Ibi gratiae
ingentes ab universo ordine, praecipue a consularibus
senioribusque, Ti. Graccho actae sunt, quod rem publicam
privatis simultatibus potiorem habuisset, et Petillii vexati 7
sunt probris, quod splendere aliena invidia voluissent et
spolia ex Africani triumpho peterent. Silentium deinde 8
de Africano fuit. Vitam Literni egit sine desiderio urbis;
morientem rure eo ipso loco sepeliri se iussisse ferunt
monumentumque ibi aedificari, ne funus sibi in ingrata
patria fieret. Vir memorabilis, bellicis tamen quam pacis 9
artibus memorabilior. *Nobilior* prima pars vitae quam

who have supported the charge of the Petillii. — **de**: cf. 35, 12, 15 *praedam de Philippo*. — **palmam peteretis**: *i.e.* win a victory over Scipio; the same idea in § 7.

4. **inviolata**: *inviolate and inviolable*; cf. 2, 1, 4 and see on 24, 34, 9 *intacti*. Cf. 2, 7, 9 *numquamne ergo ulla adeo vobis spectata virtus erit, ut suspicione violari nequeat?*

5. **quid . . . esset**: *what was their right and their duty*.

6. **concilio . . . dimisso**: the meeting was not strictly a *concilium plebis*, but a *contio*, the third of the regular sessions. — **est coeptus**: see on 2, 1, 4. — **simultatibus**: the plural is more common than the singular, perhaps on account of the idea of reciprocity inherent in the word.

7. **aliena invidia**: so Livy says of C. Terentius Varro, 22, 34, 2, *ab Q. Fabi opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso aliena invidia splendentem*. — **spolia**: cf. § 3 *palmam*. — **Africani**: objective gen.; a triumph over Africanus; cf. 33, 37, 10 *Boiorum triumphi spem collegae reliquit*.

8. **silentium fuit**: *i.e.* the case was dropped. — **morientem**: probably in 183. — **eo**: connect with *loco*. — **ferunt**: see on 38, 50, 5.

9. **memorabilis . . . memora-**

postrema fuit, quia in iuventa bella adsidue gesta, cum senecta res quoque defloruere, nec praebita est materia
10 ingenio. Quid ad primum consulatum secundus, etiam si censuram adicias? quid Asiatica legatio, et valetudine adversa inutilis et fili casu deformata et post reditum necessitate aut subeundi iudici aut simul cum patria deserendi?
11 Punici tamen belli perpetrati, quo nullum neque maius neque periculosius Romani gessere, unus praecipuam gloriam tulit.

Book XXXIX

Cato the Censor

1 **40.** His comitiis prudentia et virtute senatus sublatis,
184 B.C. alia maioris certaminis, quo et maiore de re et inter plures
2 potentioresque viros, sunt exorta. Censuram summa con-

bilior: see on 27, 51, 5. — **iuventa**: a poetical word found first in prose in Livy; *senecta* also was a poetical word in the earlier period, but is not uncommon in Livy. — **gesta**: sc. *sunt*; see on 1, 3, 3. — **res . . . ingenio**: *i.e.* his former glory faded, and no opportunity was offered for winning new glory. The Battle of Zama was succeeded by a period of peace, and the wars which followed were insignificant in comparison with those with Carthage.

10. **quid . . . secundus**: *what was his second consulship in comparison with the first?* — **censuram**: he was censor in 199. — **Asiatica legatio**: not his embassy to Antiochus in 193, but his position as *legatus* under his brother in the expedition of 190. — **et . . . et . . . et**: the first two are correlative, the third connects *casu* and *necessitate*. — **fili casu**: he was taken prisoner by Antiochus; 38, 51, 2. — **deserendi**: sc. *iudici*; *avoiding the trial and withdrawing from his native land at the same time.*

Book XXXIX. **40.** References: Cic. *Brut.* 60 ff. Nepos, *Cato.* Plut. *Marcus Cato; Flam.* 18. Ihne, 4, 334–337. Mommsen, 3, 117–120.

40. 1. **his comitiis . . . sublatis**: there had been an attempt to elect a praetor, which resulted in so much strife that the senate decreed that no election should be

tentione petebant L. Valerius Flaccus, P. et L. Scipiones, Cn. Manlius Vulso, L. Furius Purpurio, patricii, plebeii autem M. Porcius Cato, M. Fulvius Nobilior, Ti. et M. Sempronii, Longus et Tuditanus. Sed omnes patricios plebeiosque nobilissimarum familiarum M. Porcius longe anteibat. In hoc viro tanta vis animi ingenique fuit, ut, quocumque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi ipse facturus fuisse videretur. Nulla ars neque privatae neque publicae rei gerendae ei defuit; urbanas rusticasque res pariter

held. — **virtute**: *firmness*. — **alia**: sc. *comitia*. — **maioris**: sc. *eo*, correlative with *quo*. — **sunt exorta**: the meaning of the verb is hardly appropriate to *comitia*, and its use can be explained only as suggesting the contest which accompanied the election.

2. **P. et L. Scipiones**: P. Scipio Nasica, a cousin of Africanus, consul in 191, and L. Scipio, brother of Africanus. — **Manlius**: triumphed over the Gauls in 187. — **Furius**: triumphed over the Gauls during his praetorship in 200, was consul in 196, and ambassador to Antiochus in 189.

3. **Fulvius**: consul in 190, and conqueror of the Aetolians in the following year. — **Ti. . . . Tuditanus**: Ti. Sempronius Longus and M. Sempronius Tuditanus. The former was consul with Africanus in 194, the latter in 184. — **nobilissimarum**: *most eminent*; cf. 9, 1, 1. Cato's family was a humble one, which had never distinguished itself. His early life was passed on his father's farm in the Sabine country. He served in the Second Punic War, and after his return to Rome went through the regular series of public offices, holding the consulship in 195. During that year and the next he exhibited his great military genius in a successful campaign in Spain, for which he was awarded a triumph. In 191 he served with distinction against Antiochus. He was censor in 184. His last public service was an embassy in 150 to Carthage, to settle a dispute between Carthage and Masinissa. He died in 149.

4. **fortunam . . . facturus fuisse**: cf. 1, 34, 11, *ipse fortunam . . . adiuvabat*. — **urbanas rusticasque**: both of general meaning, not referring to public and private business respectively, which would be a mere repetition of the previous sentence. On *rusticas res* cf. Plin. 14, 4, 44 (*Cato*) *optimus ac sine aemulo agricola*. Of his various literary works the only one extant is on the subject of agriculture.

5 callebat. Ad summos honores alios scientia iuris, alios eloquentia, alios gloria militaris provexit; huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum
6 diceres, quodcumque ageret; in bello manu fortissimus multisque insignibus clarus pugnis, idem, postquam ad magnos honores pervenit, summus imperator; idem in pace, si ius consuleres, peritissimus, si causa oranda esset,
7 eloquentissimus; nec is tantum cuius lingua vivo eo viguerit, monumentum eloquentiae nullum exstet; vivit immo vigetque eloquentia eius sacrata scriptis omnis generis.

5. versatile: Plin. 7, 25, 100 *Cato tris summas in homine res praestitisse existimatur, ut esset optimus orator, optimus imperator, optimus senator. versatile*, which is not used elsewhere in this sense, is pred. adj.; *his genius was so equally versatile in all directions.* — **pariter**: separated from its adj. (see on 38, 51, 14 *prope*), but thus brought nearer to *ad omnia*. — **ad omnia**: depending upon *versatile*, a common use of *ad* (=*in respect to*) with adjectives; so *ad id unum*. — **natum**: sc. *eum*; cf. 9, 10, 10 *gesturos*. — **ageret**: not a part of the ind. disc., but protasis of *diceres*.

6. manu: *in actual conflict, hand-to-hand fighting* as a soldier, contrasted with his service as commander. — **idem**: see on 7, 2, 8. — **si ius consuleres**: *if you consulted him on legal matters;* subj. in a general condition; see on 3, 36, 8. Quint. 12, 3, 9 *Cato cum in dicendo praestantissimus tum iuris idem fuit peritissimus.* For this use of *consulere* see on 2, 28, 2. — **causa oranda**: an archaic expression, replaced by *causam agere*.

7. nec is tantum: *and not of that sort only;* for this meaning of *is* cf. 26, 13, 4. — **vivo . . . viguerit**: for the alliteration see on *Praef.* 12. For the abl. abs. following *cuius* and referring to the same person, see on 1, 28, 10. — **viguerit . . . exstet**: adversative asyndeton. Cic. *Brut.* 63 *Catonis autem orationes non minus multae fere sunt quam Attici Lysiae* (to whom 230 were ascribed as genuine); *ibid.* 65 *orationes amplius centum quinquaginta quas quidem adhuc invenerim et legerim.* There are extant fragments of eighty. — **immo**: see on 21, 40, 9. — **sacrata**: *immortalized;* 39, 37, 16 *quae iure iurando, quae monumentis litterarum in lapide insculptis in aeternam memoriam sancta atque sacrata sunt;* Hor. *Od.* 1, 26, 11

Orationes et pro se multae et pro aliis et in alios; nam non 8
solum accusando sed etiam causam dicendo fatigavit inimicos. Simultates nimio plures et exercuerunt eum et 9
ipse exercuit eas; nec facile dixeris, utrum magis presserit eum nobilitas, an ille agitaverit nobilitatem. Asperi pro- 10
cul dubio animi et linguae acerbae et inmodice liberae fuit, sed invicti a cupiditatibus animi, rigidae innocentiae, contemptor gratiae, divitiarum. In parsimonia, in patientia 11
laboris et periculi ferrei prope corporis animique, quem ne

hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro. — **omnis generis**: including not only his speeches, but also his numerous writings on various subjects, — history (the De Originibus), military tactics, medicine, etc.

8. **pro se**: *se* is justified by supplying *a Catone habitae;* according to Plut. *Cato* 15 he was a defendant nearly fifty times. — **pro aliis**: contrasted with *pro se*, *in alios* with *pro aliis;* but the combination is an unfortunate one, as some of the speeches *in alios* would be included among those *pro se.* — **accusando, causam dicendo**: referring chiastically to *in alios* and to *pro se* and *pro aliis; causam dicere* is used only of the defendant or his supporters.

9. **simultates . . . eas**: *numerous feuds occupied him and he on his part did not let them rest.* — **nimio plures**: *very many;* for *nimio* see on 1, 2, 3 and for *plures* without the idea of comparison, cf. 42, 17, 6. — **exercuerunt . . . exercuit**: Cic. *Orat.* 135 *sunt orationis lumina et quodammodo insignia, cum . . . continenter unum verbum non in eadem sententia ponitur.* — **eas**: completing the chiastic structure; for the peculiar arrangement of this sentence see on 22, 6, 2. — **nobilitas**: *the nobility;* for the use of the abstract noun cf. 3, 47, 1 *civitas.*

10. **a cupiditatibus**: personified; hence the preposition. — **gratiae**: *favor.*

11. **laboris et periculi**: cf. the description of Cato in 34, 18, 3 ff. *sed in consule ea vis animi atque ingeni fuit ut omnia maxima minimaque per se adiret atque ageret, nec cogitaret modo imperaretque quae in rem essent, sed pleraque ipse per se transigeret nec in quemquam omnium gravius severiusque quam in semet ipsum imperium exerceret, parsimonia et vigiliis et labore cum ultimis militum certaret nec quicquam in exercitu suo praecipui praeter honorem atque imperium haberet.*

12 senectus quidem, quae solvit omnia, fregerit, qui sextum et octogesimum annum agens causam dixerit, ipse pro se oraverit scripseritque, nonagesimo anno Ser. Galbam ad populi adduxerit iudicium.

Death of Hannibal.

1 **51.** Ad Prusiam regem legatus T. Quinctius Flamininus
183 B.C. venit, quem suspectum Romanis et receptus post fugam Antiochi Hannibal et bellum adversus Eumenem motum
2 faciebat. Ibi seu quia a Flaminino inter cetera obiectum Prusiae erat hominem omnium qui viverent infestissimum populo Romano apud eum esse, qui patriae suae primum,

12. causam dixerit: see on § 8. — **nonagesimo**: so Plut. *Cato* 15; on the other hand, according to Cic. *Brut.* 80, he lived to be only eighty-five years old. The date of his death (149) is well attested, the date of his birth must remain doubtful. — **Ser. Galbam . . . iudicium**: because he had put to death or enslaved Lusitanians who had surrendered to him on promise of protection. According to other authorities, Cato merely supported a tribune who introduced a proposal in favor of the Lusitanians. In either case, Galba, seeing the effect of Cato's speech, threw himself upon the mercy of the people.

51. References: Nepos, *Hann.* 12. Plut. *Flam.* 20. Justin, 32, 4. Ihne, 3, 186–188. Mommsen, 2, 482–483.

51. 1. Prusiam: king of Bithynia, at whose court Hannibal had taken refuge after the Romans had conquered Antiochus in 190. — **Flamininus**: some writers mention only him, others mention other envoys; Flamininus was evidently the leader of the embassy; 39, 56, 7 *Hannibalem hoc anno Antias Valerius decessisse est auctor, legatis ad eam rem ad Prusiam missis praeter T. Quinctium Flamininum, cuius in ea re celebre est nomen, L. Scipione Asiatico et P. Scipione Nasica.* — **Romanis**: dat. of agent; see on 21, 34, 9. — **receptus . . . Hannibal, bellum . . . motum**: see on 21, 1, 5 *angebant.* — **Eumenem**: king of Pergamum and an ally of Rome.

2. seu . . . seu: Livy here appears to be doubtful, but cf. § 11. According to some authorities, the idea originated with Flamininus; according to others, he was

deinde fractis eius opibus Antiocho regi auctor belli adversus populum Romanum fuisset, seu quia ipse Prusias, ut 3
gratificaretur praesenti Flaminino Romanisque, per se necandi aut tradendi eius in potestatem consilium cepit, a primo conloquio Flaminini milites extemplo ad domum Hannibalis custodiendam missi sunt. Semper talem 4
exitum vitae suae Hannibal prospexerat animo, et Romanorum inexpiabile odium in se cernens et fidei regum nihil sane fretus; Prusiae vero levitatem etiam expertus erat; Flaminini quoque adventum velut fatalem sibi horruerat. Ad omnia undique infesta, ut iter semper aliquod praeparatum 5
fugae haberet, septem exitus e domo fecerat et ex iis quosdam occultos, ne custodia saepirentur. Sed grave 6
imperium regum nihil inexploratum quod vestigari volunt

simply obeying the instructions of the senate. — **patriae . . . auctor belli**: see on 21, 1, 1.

3. **potestatem**: sc. *eorum*; the dependent gen. is often omitted with this phrase where it is easily supplied from the context. — **a . . . Flaminini**: *after the first conference with Flamininus*; this use of *a* is not uncommon in Livy. — **domum**; according to Plut. *Flam.* 20 and others, this was at Libyssa in Bithynia; Plin. 5, 32, 148 speaks of a *tumulus* of Hannibal there, which was proof of the fulfillment of the prophecy given by App. *Syr.* 11 Λίβυσσα κρύψει βῶλος Ἀννίβου δέμας.

4. **nihil sane**: *by no means*; *sane* is added to *nihil* as a strengthening adverb. The usual phrase in this sense is *haud sane*; see 21, 29, 4. — **Prusiae . . . levitatem**: 45, 44, 19 *Polybius eum regem indignum maiestate nominis tanti tradit; pilleatum, capite raso obviam ire legatis solitum libertumque se populi Romani ferre.* — **etiam**: going beyond the previous general statement; *in fact, in the case of Prusias, he had even had experience of his unreliability.* Under what circumstances Hannibal had discovered this characteristic we are not informed. — **fatalem**: *fatal;* in this sense found very rarely before Livy, and only in poetry.

5. **ad**: *on account of; in view of the fact that he was* (or, *might be*) *all surrounded by enemies*; for this use of *ad* cf. § 8 and see on 1, 25, 6.

6. **nihil . . . efficit**: *leaves*

efficit. Totius circuitum domus ita custodiis conplexi
7 sunt ut nemo inde elabi posset. Hannibal, postquam est nuntiatum milites regios in vestibulo esse, postico, quod devium maxime atque occultissimi exitus erat, fugere cona-
8 tus, ut id quoque occursu militum obsaeptum sensit et omnia circa clausa custodiis dispositis esse, venenum quod multo ante praeparatum ad tales habebat casus, poposcit.
9 "Liberemus" inquit "diuturna cura populum Romanum,
10 quando mortem senis exspectare longum censent. Nec magnam nec memorabilem ex inermi proditoque Flamininus victoriam feret. Mores quidem populi Romani quan-
11 tum mutaverint, vel hic dies argumento erit. Horum patres Pyrrho regi, hosti armato, exercitum in Italia habenti, ut a veneno caveret praedixerunt; hi legatum consularem, qui auctor esset Prusiae per scelus occidendi
12 hospitis, miserunt." Execratus deinde in caput regnumque Prusiae, et hospitales deos violatae ab eo fidei testes invocans, poculum exhausit. Hic vitae exitus fuit Hannibalis.

nothing concealed; for this use of *efficere* with an adj. cf. *Praef.* 5. — **conplexi sunt**: sc. *milites* from § 3.

7. **vestibulo**: see on 5, 41, 8. — **postico**: *by a back door*; abl. of the way. — **devium . . . exitus**: for the combination see on 21, 29, 4.

8. **praeparatum . . . habebat**: see on 3, 48, 1. — **ad . . . casus**: cf. § 5; 30, 15, 4 *fidum e servis vocat, sub cuius custodia regio more ad incerta fortunae venenum erat.*

9. **senis**: he was in his sixty-fifth year; cf. 30, 30, 10. — **censent**: for the plural following *populum* see on 2, 28, 9.

11. **patres . . . praedixerunt**: Periocha, Bk. XIII, *cum C. Fabricio consuli is qui ad eum a Pyrrho transfugerat polliceretur venenum se regi daturum, cum indicio ad regem remissus est*: according to Valerius Antias in Gell. 3, 8, 5, the senate sent envoys to Pyrrhus with the information. — **hi . . . miserunt**: cf. §§ 2, 3; according to Plut. 21, Flamininus was acting entirely upon his own responsibility in this matter and was very generally censured when it was reported at Rome.

BOOK XL

Death of Philip, King of Macedonia

179 B.C.

54. Eodem anno Philippus rex Macedonum, senio et 1
maerore consumptus post mortem fili, decessit. Deme- 2
triade hibernabat, cum desiderio anxius fili, tum paeni-
tentia crudelitatis suae. Stimulabat animum et alter filius 3
haud dubie et sua et aliorum opinione rex, conversique
in eum omnium oculi, et destituta senectus, aliis exspec-
tantibus suam mortem, aliis ne exspectantibus quidem.
Quo magis angebatur, *et* cum eo Antigonus, Echecratis 4
filius, nomen patrui Antigoni ferens, qui tutor Philippi

12. **execratus . . . caput**: cf. 30, 20, 7, and for *caput* = *life* see on 3, 48, 5. — **hospitales deos**: especially Ζεὺς ξένιος. — **hic . . . exitus**: Plutarch gives also other traditions as to the manner of his death.

Book XL. **54–57**[1]. References: Justin, 32, 2–3. Ihne, 3, 193–195. Mommsen, 2, 488–489.

54. 1. **post mortem fili**: connect only with *maerore*. Philip had himself ordered the execution of his younger son, Demetrius, being persuaded by his other son, Perseus, that Demetrius was plotting against his father's life. He was overwhelmed with remorse on discovering that he had been deceived.

2. **Demetriade**: Demetrias, in eastern Thessaly. — **anxius**: *troubled*; without the reference to the future which the word often contains; cf. the meaning of *ango*, *e.g.* in § 4.

3. **alter filius . . . rex**: the first of the three subjects of *stimulabat*; *the fact that his other son* (Perseus) *was regarded as king*; *rex* takes the place of the usual participle in this construction, as in *conversi . . . oculi*; see on 21, 1, 5 *angebant*. — **conversique**: note the correlatives *et . . . -que . . . et*, the second member being thus closely connected with and subordinated to the first. — **eum**: Perseus. — **suam**: referring to the logical subject of the sentence, Philip, while *sua*, just before, refers to *filius*.

4. **quo . . . angebatur**: *i.e.* this added to the bitterness of his sorrow over the death of his son. — **tutor**: *guardian*; Philip was only eight years old at the death of his father, Demetrius, in 229. Antig-

fuerat, regiae vir maiestatis, nobili etiam pugna adversus
5 Cleomenem Lacedaemonium clarus. Tutorem eum Graeci,
ut cognomine a ceteris regibus distinguerent, appellarunt.
6 Huius fratris filius Antigonus ex honoratis Philippi amicis
unus incorruptus permanserat; eique ea fides nequaquam
7 amicum Persea inimicissimum fecerat. Is prospiciens
animo quanto cum periculo suo hereditas regni ventura
esset ad Persea, ut primum labare animum regis et inge-
8 miscere interdum fili desiderio sensit, nunc praebendo
aures, nunc lacessendo etiam mentionem rei temere actae,
saepe querenti querens et ipse aderat. Et cum multa,
ut adsolet, veritas praeberet vestigia sui, omni ope adiuva-
9 bat quo maturius omnia emanarent. Suspecti ut ministri
facinoris Apelles maxime et Philocles erant, qui Romam
legati fuerant litterasque exitiales Demetrio sub nomine
Flaminini attulerant.

onus was appointed his guardian, but soon married the widow of Demetrius and ruled in his own right. At his death in 220 Philip, though only seventeen years old, became king. — **nobili**: for the meaning cf. 9, 1, 1. — **pugna**: the battle of Sellasia, near Sparta, in which Antigonus, supporting the Achaean League, defeated Cleomenes.

5. **tutorem**: pred. acc.; the Greek name was Ἐπίτροπος. According to Plut. *Aemil.* 8, the surname was Δώσων; according to Suidas, Εὐεργέτης and Σωτήρ. — **ceteris**: of the same name.

7. **ingemiscere**: sc. *eum*.

8. **rei temere actae**: the execution of Demetrius; see on § 1. — **querenti . . . aderat**: *i.e.* he encouraged the king in his regret by sharing it. — **cum . . . sui**: 22, 39, 19 *veritatem laborare nimis saepe aiunt, extingui numquam*. — **emanarent**: he did not wish to give information himself, but was anxious that the king should discover as soon as possible the treachery of Perseus.

9. **Apelles . . . Philocles**: they had been sent to Rome by Philip in 181, to get evidence regarding the correspondence which Perseus asserted his brother had been carrying on with Flamininus. Being in the service of Perseus, they returned with evidence against Demetrius, especially a forged letter from Flamininus. — **Romam**: for

55. Falsas esse et a scriba vitiatas signumque adulterinum vulgo in regia fremebant. Ceterum cum suspecta magis quam manifesta esset res, forte Xychus obvius fit Antigono, comprehensusque ab eo in regiam est perductus. Relicto eo custodibus Antigonus ad Philippum processit. "Multis" inquit "sermonibus intellexisse videor magno te aestimaturum, si scire vera omnia possis de filiis tuis, uter ab utro petitus fraude et insidiis esset. Homo unus omnium, qui nodum huius erroris exsolvere possit, in potestate tua est Xychus. Forte oblatum perductumque in regiam, vocari iube." Adductus primo ita negare inconstanter, ut parvo metu admoto paratum indicem esse adpareret. Conspectum tortoris verberumque non sustinuit ordinemque omnem facinoris legatorum ministerique sui exposuit. Extemplo missi qui legatos comprehenderent, Philoclem, qui praesens erat, oppresserunt; Apelles missus ad Chaeream quendam persequendum, indicio Xychi audito, in Italiam traiecit. De Philocle nihil certi vulgatum est; alii primo audaciter negantem, postquam in conspectum adductus sit Xychus, non ultra tetendisse, alii tormenta etiam infitiantem perpessum ad-

this limit of motion construction with *legati fuerant* cf. 39, 35, 7 *legationem Romam . . . suscepissent.*

55. 1. **vitiatas**: *forged.* — **vulgo**: giving the idea that many sympathized with Demetrius, which is somewhat inconsistent with 40, 54, 6 *unus incorruptus.*

2. **Xychus**: Livy carelessly neglects to state what had been his part in the business; he was perhaps the *scriba* of § 1.

3. **sermonibus**: cf. 40, 54, 8.

4. **erroris**: *uncertainty*; cf. 1, 24, 1.

5. **admoto**: *applied*; cf. 27, 43, 3 and, for this use of the abl. abs., see on 3, 35, 2.

7. **negantem**: the pres. part. indicates a time which is past with reference to *tetendisse*; cf. 27, 43, 3. — **adductus sit**: for the tense see on 1, 1, 8 *audierit.* — **tetendisse**: *persisted.*

8. **Philippo**: for the dat. see on 1,

8 firmant. Philippo redintegratus est luctus geminatusque; et infelicitatem suam in liberis graviorem, quod alter *superesset, quam quod alter* perisset, censebat.

1 56. Perseus certior factus omnia detecta esse, potentior
2 quidem erat quam ut fugam necessariam duceret; tantum ut procul abesset curabat, interim velut ab incendio flagrantis irae, dum Philippus viveret, se defensurus. *Is*, spe potiundi ad poenam corporis eius amissa, quod reliquum erat, id studere, ne super inpunitatem etiam praemio sceleris
3 frueretur. Antigonum igitur appellat, cui et palam facti parricidi gratia obnoxius erat, neque pudendum aut paenitendum eum regem Macedonibus propter recentem patrui
4 Antigoni gloriam fore censebat. "Quando in eam fortunam veni," inquit "Antigone, ut orbitas mihi, quam alii detestantur parentes, optabilis esse debeat, regnum, quod a patruo tuo forti, non solum fideli tutela eius custoditum

5, 6 *Numitori.* — **in**: *in regard to*; cf. *Praef.* 2. — **quod . . . superesset**: his grief was the more intense because Perseus was still alive, and his crime must weigh upon his father's mind until he had been punished.

56. 1. potentior . . . duceret: *too strong to consider flight necessary* is the English idiom.

2. interim: explained by *dum . . . viveret*. Philip was at this time fifty-eight years old.

3. cui . . . erat: *to whom he was indebted for the discovery of the murder*. *et* is correlative with *neque* (= *et non*; see on 1, 4, 4), though the second clause, being independent, is not parallel with the first, which is relative. *cui*, in spite of its position, belongs only to the first clause; cf. 22, 6, 2 *eum*; 39, 40, 9 *simultates*. — **palam**: adv. for pred. adj.; see on 27, 44, 4. — **parricidi**: as if Demetrius had been actually killed by Perseus. Livy uses *parricidium* freely of any murder and, in 28, 29, 1, even of treason. — **neque . . . censebat**: *and he thought that on account of the recent fame of his uncle Antigonus, he* (the nephew) *as king would not be a source of shame or regret to the Macedonians*. The personal use of *pudere* and *paenitere* is rare.

4. forti . . . tutela: *brave as well as faithful care*; cf. 45, 39, 10 *dis quoque enim, non solum hominibus, debetur triumphus*.

et auctum etiam accepi, id tibi tradere in animo est. Te 5
unum habeo quem dignum regno iudicem. Si neminem
haberem, perire et exstingui id mallem quam Perseo sce-
lestae fraudis praemium esse. Demetrium excitatum ab in- 6
feris restitutumque credam mihi, si te, qui morti innocentis,
qui meo infelici errori unus inlacrimasti, in locum eius
substitutum relinquam." Ab hoc sermone omni genere 7
honoris producere eum non destitit. Cum in Thracia
Perseus abesset, circumire Macedoniae urbes principibus-
que Antigonum commendare; et si vita longior suppetisset,
haud dubium fuit, quin eum in possessione regni relicturus
fuerit. Ab Demetriade profectus Thessalonicae plurimum 8
temporis moratus fuerat. Inde cum Amphipolim venisset,
gravi morbo est inplicitus. Sed animo tamen aegrum 9
magis fuisse quam corpore constat, curisque et vigiliis,
cum identidem species et umbrae insontis interempti fili
agitarent, cum diris exstinctum esse execrationibus alte-
rius. Tamen admoneri potuisset Antigonus, si aut *adfuis-* 10
set aut statim palam facta esset mors regis. Medicus 11
Calligenes, qui curationi praeerat, non exspectata morte

7. **ab**: *after*; cf. 1, 1, 4. — **producere**: *to advance*. — **circumire . . . urbes**: so in 42, 37, 7 *circumeuntes Peloponnesi oppida*; cf. 42, 15, 4. — **relicturus fuerit**: see on 2, 1, 3 *neque ambigitur quin . . . facturus fuerit*.

8. **ab Demetriade**: for the use of the prep. see on 1, 27, 4.

9. **umbrae**: the plural is used in poetry of a single person, *e.g.* Verg. *Aen.* 5, 81; apparently nowhere else in prose. *species* also, though not so used elsewhere, is best taken as plural; Lane, 1110. The words are here practically identical in meaning.

10. **tamen**: not justified by anything which precedes; a previous statement that Philip died suddenly or that Antigonus was absent appears to be required. As *non . . . regis* in § 11 seems inappropriate in its context, it should perhaps be inserted before or after *tamen*. — **admoneri**: *reminded*; *i.e.* of the need of immediate action.

regis, a primis desperationis notis nuntios praedispositos ita ut convenerat misit ad Perseum, et mortem regis in adventum eius omnes qui extra regiam erant celavit.

1 **57.** Oppressit igitur necopinantes ignarosque omnes Perseus et regnum scelere partum invasit.

Book XLII

Beginning of the Third Macedonian War

1 **15.** Legationibus dimissis cum Harpalus, quanta maxima
172 B.C. celeritate poterat, regressus in Macedoniam nuntiasset regi nondum quidem parantes bellum reliquisse se Romanos, sed
2 ita infestos, ut facile adpareret non dilaturos, et ipse, praeterquam quod et ita credebat futurum, iam etiam volebat,

11. a: *at*; more exactly, *immediately after*; cf. § 7. — **desperationis**: loss of hope on the part of the king that he could recover. — **praedispositos**: *stationed at intervals beforehand*; not found elsewhere.

57. 1. **omnes**: Antigonus was put to death.

Book XLII. **15–17.** References: App. *Maced.* 11. Ihne, 3, 199–201. Mommsen, 2, 489–498.

15. 1. **legationibus**: Eumenes, king of Pergamum, had come, or, according to other writers, had sent an embassy, to Rome, to protest against the growing power of Perseus. At the same time Perseus had sent Harpalus to Rome, to answer these charges. The Rhodians also, believing that they were included in the complaints of Eumenes, had sent envoys. — **quanta maxima**: see on 9, 10, 10.

2. **et ipse**: Perseus; *et* emphasizes the fact that he desired the same thing as the Romans, *i.e.* not to delay the war. — **et ita**: *et* anticipates the following statement, *volebat; besides the fact that he also believed that it would be so, he now even desired it. etiam* intensifies *volebat*, and connects it with *credebat*; thus, *et* and *etiam* are practically correlatives, meaning *not only, but also.* — **in flore virium**: not merely personal, but including all his resources; 42, 11, 6 *florere praeterea iuventute, quam stirpem longa pax ediderit, florere opibus regni, florere etiam aetate.*

in flore virium se credens esse. Eumeni ante omnes in- 3
festus erat; a cuius sanguine ordiens bellum, Euandrum Cretensem, ducem auxiliorum, et Macedonas tres adsuetos ministeriis talium facinorum ad caedem regis subornat, litterasque eis dat ad Praxo hospitam, principem auctoritate et opibus Delphorum. Satis constabat Eumenem, ut sac- 4
rificaret Apollini, Delphos escensurum. Praegressi cum Euandro insidiatores nihil aliud ad peragendum inceptum quam loci opportunitatem, omnia circumeuntes, quaerebant. Escendentibus ad templum a Cirrha, priusquam 5
perveniretur ad frequentia aedificiis loca, maceria erat ab laeva iuxta semitam paulum exstantem a fundamento, qua singuli transirent, dextra pars labe terrae in aliquantum altitudinis derupta erat. Post maceriam se abdiderunt 6
gradibus adstructis, ut ex ea velut e muro tela in praetereuntem conicerent. Primo a mari circumfusa turba 7

3. **Eumeni**: king of Pergamum, and friend and ally of Rome. — **subornat**: the prep. emphasizes the secrecy of the plot; cf. 44, 44, 4 *ab subornato ab se per fallaciam in tabellarii speciem litteras in foro medio accepit.* — **Praxo**: not mentioned elsewhere, and we do not know, therefore, whether or not she was a priestess. — **Delphorum**: *of the Delphians*; connect with *principem*.

4. **Delphos**: the town; acc. of limit of motion. — **praegressi**: in advance of Eumenes. — **omnia circumeuntes**: cf. 40, 56, 7.

5. **escendentibus**: dat. of relation; Lane, 1217. — **Cirrha**: the port of Delphi, which was about seven miles from the coast, on the southern slope of Mt. Parnassus; for the prep. see on 1, 27, 4. — **ad . . . loca**: the town which surrounded the temple. — **ab laeva**: see on 1, 24, 2 *unde*. — **iuxta . . . transirent**: *along the path, which extended only a narrow space from the bottom* (of the wall), *so that* (lit. *where*) *they must pass one at a time. transirent* is subj. of characteristic. — **in aliquantum altitudinis**: see on 22, 45, 1. — **derupta erat**: cf. 21, 36, 2.

6. **gradibus adstructis**: *on steps placed against it.* — **muro**: *city wall.*

7. **a mari**: connect closely with *primo*; *at first, starting from the*

amicorum ac satellitum procedebat, deinde extenuabant
8 paulatim angustiae agmen. Vbi ad eum locum ventum
est, qua singulis eundum erat, primus semitam ingressus
Pantaleon, Aetoliae princeps, cum quo institutus regi sermo
9 erat. Tum insidiatores exorti saxa duo ingentia devolvunt,
10 quorum altero caput ictum est regi, altero humerus; sopitusque ex semita proclivi *ruit* in declive, multis super prolapsum iam saxis congestis. Et ceteri quidem etiam amicorum et satellitum, postquam cadentem videre, diffugiunt; Pantaleon constanter inpavidus mansit ad protegendum regem.

1 **16.** Latrones cum brevi circumitu maceriae decurrere ad conficiendum saucium possent, velut perfecta re in iugum Parnasi refugerunt eo cursu, ut, cum unus non facile sequendo per invia atque ardua moraretur fugam eorum, *ne* ex conprenso indicium emanaret, occiderint
2 comitem. Ad corpus regis primo amici, deinde satellites ac servi concurrerunt, tollentes sopitum vulnere ac nihil
3 sentientem. Vivere tamen ex calore et spiritu remanente

sea. — **circumfusa turba**: better taken as abl.; for the meaning of *circumfusa* see on 22, 7, 11.

8. **regi**: dat. of agent; cf. 21, 34, 9.

10. **proclivi**: this may mean simply that the path went up hill (cf. 5, 43, 2) or that it sloped from the wall on the left to the precipice on the right. — **multis . . . congestis**: the abl. abs. of attendant circumstance here denotes an action subsequent to that of the principal verb, *ruit*; see on 21, 1, 5 *inposito*. — **ceteri**: referring forward to Pantaleon. — **etiam**: implies that there were those who were neither *amici* nor *satellites*; see 42, 16, 2 *servi*. — **amicorum**: the gen. with *ceteri* is rare. — **constanter inpavidus**: cf. 39, 40, 10 *inmodice liberae*.

16. 1. **brevi . . . maceriae**: by going around the end or, possibly, through an opening. — **velut . . . re**: cf. 1, 4, 5 *velut defuncti*. — **ex conprenso**: *from him, if he should be caught*; for this use of the participle cf. 22, 6, 10 *conspectos*.

3. **praecordiis**: *breast*; in this

in praecordiis senserunt; victurum exigua ac prope nulla spes erat. Quidam ex satellitibus secuti latronum vestigia, 4
cum usque ad iugum Parnasi nequiquam fatigati pervenissent, re infecta redierunt. Adgressi facinus Macedones 5
ut inconsulte ita audacter, coeptum nec consulte et timide reliquerunt. Conpotem iam sui regem amici postero die 6
deferunt ad navem; inde Corinthum, ab Corintho per Isthmi iugum navibus traductis Aeginam traiciunt. Ibi 7
adeo secreta eius curatio fuit, admittentibus neminem, ut fama mortuum in Asiam perferret. Attalus quoque celerius quam dignum concordia fraterna erat credidit; nam 8
et cum uxore fratris et praefecto arci tamquam iam haud dubius regni heres est locutus. Quae postea non fefellere 9
Eumenen; et quamquam dissimulare et tacita haberi pati statuerat, tamen in primo congressu non temperavit, quin

sense not found elsewhere in prose.

5. **ut . . . ita**: *though . . . yet.* — **nec consulte**: see § 1 *cum . . . possent.*

6. **ab Corintho**: connect with *traiciunt.* — **per Isthmi . . . traductis**: light boats could be dragged across at the narrowest point, where the width is about four miles. There were in antiquity several proposals to cut a canal, and the work was actually begun by the emperor Nero; only in 1893 was the undertaking completed. — **Aeginam**: at this time a possession of the kings of Pergamum.

7. **admittentibus**: sc. *curantibus* or *amicis*; see on 2, 23, 5 *sciscitantibus.* — **mortuum** = *eum mortuum esse*; the omission of the subject is not uncommon (see 1, 25, 7 *secuturos*) nor is that of the auxiliary, but the omission of both and the fact that *mortuus* is used also as an adj. make the clause an awkward one; cf. 42, 17, 8 *facturum* and 3, 70, 5 *circumventos interclusosque ab suis vociferans.* — **Attalus**: brother and successor of Eumenes. — **concordia fraterna**: a reference to the surname of Attalus, Philadelphus.

8. **uxore**: Stratonice; Plut. *de frat. amore* 18 says that Attalus married her. — **arci**: Livy regularly uses the gen. with *praefectus.* — **heres**: *possessor*; a rare and ante-classical use of the word; Paul. ex Fest. p. 99 *heres apud antiquos pro domino ponebatur.*

uxoris petendae praematuram festinationem fratri obiceret. Romam quoque fama de morte Eumenis perlata est.

1 **17.** Sub idem tempus C. Valerius ex Graecia, qui legatus ad visendum statum regionis eius speculandaque consilia Persei regis missus erat, rediit, congruentiaque omnia criminibus ab Eumene adlatis referebat. Simul et adduxerat 2 secum Praxo a Delphis, cuius domus receptaculum latronum fuerat, et L. Rammium Brundisinum, qui talis indici 3 delator erat. Princeps Brundisi Rammius fuit, hospitioque et duces Romanos omnes et legatos exterarum quoque gen- 4 tium insignes, praecipue regios, accipiebat. Ex eo notitia ei cum absente Perseo fuerat; litterisque spem amicitiae interioris magnaeque inde fortunae facientibus, ad regem profectus brevi perfamiliaris haberi trahique magis quam 5 vellet in arcanos sermones est coeptus. Promissis enim ingentibus praemiis petere institit ab eo rex, quoniam duces omnes legatique Romani hospitio eius uti adsuessent, quibus eorum ipse scripsisset ut venenum dandum curaret: 6 cuius scire se conparationem plurimum difficultatis et periculi habere; pluribus consciis conparari; evèntu praeterea incerto esse, ut aut satis efficacia ad rem peragendam aut 7 tuta ad rem celandam dentur. Se daturum quod nec in

17. 2. **talis indici**: referring forward to the information given in § 4 ff. *princeps . . . accipiebat* is parenthetical.

3. **exterarum**: those from the east, who would naturally land at Brundisium.

4. **ex eo**: *as a result of this custom*; referring especially to *legatos . . . regios*. — **interioris**: *more intimate*. — **inde**: *in consequence*. — **vellet**: *he might have wished*; subj. of action conceivable; Lane, 1559.

5. **quibus**: dat. with *ut daretur* to be supplied.

6. **cuius scire . . . posset**: the words of Perseus. — **conparationem**: *getting* rather than *preparation*; it is difficult to see why many (*pluribus*) must be cognizant of this. — **ut . . . dentur**: ind. quest. somewhat loosely connected with *eventu . . . incerto*. — **efficacia**

dando nec datum ullo signo deprendi posset. Rammius 8
veritus, ne si abnuisset, primus ipse veneni experimentum
esset, facturum pollicitus proficiscitur. Nec Brundisium
ante redire quam convento C. Valerio legato, qui circa
Chalcidem esse dicebatur, voluit. Ad eum primum in- 9
dicio delato, iussu eius Romam simul venit. Introductus
in curiam, quae acta erant exposuit.

BOOK XLV

News of the Battle of Pydna at Rome

1. Victoriae nuntii, Q. Fabius et L. Lentulus et Q. 1
Metellus, quanta potuit adhiberi festinatio, celeriter Ro- 168 B.C.
mam cum venissent, praeceptam tamen eius rei laetitiam
invenerunt. Quarto post die quam cum rege est pugna- 2

. . . **tuta**: *venenum* is the subject of *conparari* and *esse*, and these plurals are therefore surprising; the meaning of *dentur* makes it necessary, however, to supply *venena*. — **dentur**: the verb occurs four times in a single line, in all cases but the second in the sense *to administer* (poison).

8. **facturum** = *se facturum esse;* see on 42, 16, 7 and cf. 45, 2, 5 *petiturum*. — **proficiscitur**: from his conference with Perseus. — — **nec**: *but not;* cf. 1, 27, 1. — **convento . . . legato**: this participial construction with *antequam* is very rare. — **circa**: *in the neighborhood of;* cf. 9, 2, 1.

Book XLV. **1. 1. victoriae**: of Aemilius Paulus over Perseus at the battle of Pydna, September 4 (according to the Julian calendar, June 22), 168. — **quanta . . . festinatio**: the ordinary form would be *quanta maxima festinatione potuerunt*, with which an antecedent would be easily supplied; there is an awkward lack of connection of the present clause with the one on which it depends. For the statement see on 45, 2, 3. — **cum**: for the position see on 21, 34, 4.

2. **quarto . . . est pugnatum**: the 7th or 8th of September, according as the day of the battle is counted or not. *quam* (not *postquam*) with the plup. is the regular usage; cf. 3, 33, 1. — **circo**: the Circus Maximus. — **ludi**: the *Ludi Romani*, which, it appears, began

tum, cum in circo ludi fierent, murmur repente populi tota spectacula pervasit, pugnatum in Macedonia et devictum
3 regem esse; dein fremitus increvit; postremo clamor plausus*que*, velut certo nuntio victoriae adlato, est exortus.
4 Mirari magistratus et quaerere auctorem repentinae laetitiae; qui postquam nullus erat, evanuit equidem tamquam certae rei gaudium, omen tamen laetum insidebat
5 animis. Quod postquam veris nuntiis Fabi Lentulique et Metelli adventu firmatum est, cum victoria ipsa tum augurio
6 animorum suorum laetabantur. Et altera traditur circensis turbae non minus similis veri laetitia. Ante diem quintum decimum kal. Octobres, ludorum Romanorum secundo die, C. Licinio consuli ad quadrigas mittendas escendenti tabellarius, qui se ex Macedonia venire diceret, laureatas litteras
7 *reddidisse* dicitur. Quadrigis missis, consul currum con-

at this time as early as September 7; see on 6, 42, 12. The statement is interesting, as, according to the calendars of the Augustan period, games were held in the circus only on the last five days of the festival, the 15th to the 19th of the month. — **spectacula**: *seats*.

4. **nullus**: stronger than a simple negative; cf. 32, 35, 2 *Philippus nullus usquam*. — **erat**: for the tense cf. § 5 *firmatum est* and see on 3, 46, 9 *adibat*.

6. **et altera . . . laetitia**: *and there is a second tradition, no less credible, of the rejoicing of the crowd at the circus*. — **ante diem . . . Octobres**: September 16, according to the pre-Julian calendar, in which September had only twenty-nine days. — **secundo**: reckoning only the four days of the earlier festival. — **consuli . . . escendenti**: the games were under the supervision of a magistrate, — usually consul or praetor, — who started the chariot race by throwing a white cloth from the balcony over the *carceres*. — **venire diceret**: the subj. is entirely illogical; the phrase represents *venisset*, which would have been properly in the subj., to indicate that it was the messenger's statement; Lane, 1727. — **laureatas**: a letter announcing a victory was bound with bay leaves; Plin. 15, 133 (*laurus*) *Romanis praecipue laetitiae victoriarumque nuntia additur litteris*.

7. **currum conscendit**: after descending from the balcony, probably at the end of the race. —

scendit et, cum per circum reveheretur ad foros publicos, laureatas tabellas populo ostendit. Quibus conspectis, re- 8
pente inmemor spectaculi populus in medium decurrit. Eo senatum consul vocavit recitatisque tabellis ex auctoritate patrum pro foris publicis denuntiavit populo L. Aemilium collegam signis conlatis cum rege Perseo pugnasse; Mace- 9
donum exercitum caesum fusumque; regem cum paucis fugisse; civitates omnes Macedoniae in dicionem populi Romani venisse. His auditis, clamor cum ingenti plausu 10
ortus; ludis relictis, domus magna pars hominum ad coniuges liberos*que* laetum nuntium portabant. Tertius deci- 11
mus dies erat ab eo quo in Macedonia pugnatum est.

2. Postero die senatus in curia habitus, supplicationes- 1
que decretae, et senatus consultum factum est, ut consul quos praeter milites sociosque navales coniuratos haberet, dimitteret; de militibus sociisque navalibus dimittendis re- 2
ferretur, cum legati ab L. Aemilio consule, a quibus praemissus tabellarius esset, *venissent*. Ante diem sextum kal. 3

foros publicos: the rows of seats in the circus.

8. **eo senatum . . . vocavit**: an unusual place for a meeting of the senate; see on 26, 10, 2. — **pro**: *from*; Paul. ex Fest. p. 228 *pro significat in, ut pro rostris, pro aede, pro tribunali*. — **signis conlatis**: cf. 9, 5, 10 *manum . . . conferre*.

10. **domus**: found rarely in place of the common form *domos*. — **portabant**: for the number see on 2, 28, 9.

11. **tertius decimus**: including the day of the battle.

2. 1. **supplicationes**: the plural is often used in a sense not different from that of the singular, except that it emphasizes the individual acts of worship. — **consul**: C. Licinius. — **quos . . . haberet**: *what enlisted men he had except marines and sailors*; see § 11. The nature of this form of enlistment (*coniuratio*) is doubtful; Serv. *ad Aen.* 8, 1 *apud maiores nostros tria erant militiae genera in bellis gerendis; nam aut legitima erat militia aut coniuratio aut evocatio*. The *socii navales* were freedmen of colonists or allies, or colonists or allies who had themselves been slaves.

Octobres hora fere secunda legati urbem ingressi sunt; ingentem secum occurrentium, quacumque ibant, prosequentiumque trahentes turbam in forum ad curiam per-
4 rexerunt. Senatus forte in curia erat; eo legatos consul introduxit. Ibi tantum temporis retenti, dum exponerent quantae regiae *copiae* peditum equitumque fuissent, quot
5 milia ex his caesa, quot capta forent, quam paucorum militum iactura tanta hostium strages facta, quam cum paucis rex fugisset: existimari Samothraciam petiturum; paratam classem ad persequendum esse, neque terra neque mari
6 elabi posse. Eadem haec paulo post in contionem traducti exposuerunt; renovataque laetitia, cum consul edixisset, ut omnes aedes sacrae aperirentur, prō se quisque ex con-
7 tione ad gratias agendas ire diis, ingentique turba non virorum modo sed etiam feminarum conferta *tota* urbe
8 deorum inmortalium templa. Senatus revocatus in curiam supplicationes ob rem egregie gestam ab L. Aemilio consule in quinque dies circa omnia pulvinaria decrevit, hos-
9 tiisque maioribus sacrificari iussit. Naves quae in Tiberi

2. **legati**: the *nuntii* of 45, 1, 1.

3. **ante diem . . . Octobres**: September 25, twenty-one days after the battle, a lapse of time hardly consistent with the statement of 45, 1, 1 *quanta . . . festinatio*. According to 45, 41, 3 f. Aemilius with an army went from Brundisium to Phila in Macedonia, by way of Delphi, in eleven days. — **ad curiam**: see on 27, 50, 9.

4. **retenti**: sc. *sunt*.

5. **existimari**: ind. disc.; the verb of saying is implied in *exponerent*. — **petiturum**: sc. *eum*; see on 42, 17, 8 *facturum*.

6. **traducti**: see on 27, 51, 5. — **renovataque laetitia**: ablative absolute. — **aperirentur**: 30, 17, 6 *praetor extemplo edixit uti aeditui aedes sacras omnes tota urbe aperirent, circumeundi salutandique deos agendique grates per totum diem populo potestas fieret*. — **ire**: historical infinitive.

8. **revocatus**: it appears that the senate had adjourned to attend the *contio*; cf. 27, 51, 5 ff. — **supplicationes**: identical with those mentioned in § 1, but at the earlier meeting the number of days had not been determined. — **quinque**:

paratae instructaeque stabant, ut, si res posceret, in Macedoniam mitterentur, subduci et in navalibus conlocari, socios navales dato annuo stipendio dimitti, et cum his omnes qui in consulis verba iuraverant; et quod militum Corcyrae, Brundisi, ad mare superum aut in agro Larinati esset — omnibus his locis dispositus exercitus fuerat, cum quo, si res posceret, C. Licinius collegae ferret opem —, hos omnes milites dimitti placuit. Supplicatio pro contione populo indicta est ex ante diem quintum idus Octobres cum eo die in quinque dies.

Capture of Perseus. Summary of Macedonian History.

7. Secundam eam Paulus, sicut erat, victoriam ratus, victimas cecidit eo nuntio; et consilio advocato *litteras* praetoris cum recitasset, Q. Aelium Tuberonem obviam

three days is the usual number. — **circa** = *ad*; cf. 5, 38, 8. — **maioribus**: *full-grown*.

9. **navalibus**: situated on the river bank of the Campus Martius.

10. **annuo stipendio**: *pay for the year*, though they had served less than six months. At this time soldiers who had served for more than six months were paid for the whole year; if less than six months, for half the year. — **omnes**: those soldiers who were in Rome. — **in consulis verba**: see on 2, 24, 7 *sacramento dicerent*.

11. **ad mare superum**: *on the Adriatic coast*. — **agro Larinati**: the southern part of the district of the Frentani; the territory of Larinum extended to the Adriatic.

12. **ante diem**: treated as an indeclinable noun, depending upon *ex*. — **cum eo die**: *including this day* (the Ides). The celebration continued from the 11th to the 15th of October.

7–9. References: Plut. *Aemil. Paul.* 26, 27. Ihne, 3, 254–256.

7. 1. **eam**: the recent capture of Perseus, who had surrendered when he found himself unable to escape from the island of Samothrace, where he had taken refuge. — **eo nuntio**: the letter sent by the praetor, Octavius, from Amphipolis, with the news that Perseus had surrendered. — **consilio**: a meeting of the *legati* forming the staff; see on 9, 2, 15. — **Q. Aelium Tuberonem**: son-in-law of Paulus and, according to Plut. *Aemil. Paul.* 5,

regi misit, ceteros manere in praetoriò frequentes iussit.
2 Non alias ad ullum spectaculum tanta multitudo occurrit. Patrum aetate Syphax rex captus in castra Romana adductus erat; praeterquam quod nec sua nec gentis fama conparandus, tunc accessio Punici belli fuerat, sicut Gentius
3 Macedonici; Perseus caput belli erat, nec ipsius tantum, patris avique, quos sanguine ac genere contingebat, fama conspectum eum efficiebat, sed effulgebant Philippus ac magnus Alexander, qui summum imperium in orbe terra-
4 rum Macedonum fecerant. Pullo amictu *cum* filio Perseus ingressus est castra nullo suorum alio comite, qui socius calamitatis miserabiliorem eum faceret. Progredi prae turba occurrentium ad spectaculum non poterat, donec a consule lictores missi sunt, qui submotò iter ad praetorium
5 facerent. Consurrexit consul et, iussis sedere aliis pro-

ἀνὴρ ἄριστος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα Ῥωμαίων πενίᾳ χρησάμενος. — **regi**: Perseus had been sent by Octavius to Paulus, who was encamped at Sirrhae in Macedonia.

2. **Syphax**: see on 30, 30, 14. — **tunc . . . fuerat**: *he had been at that time only an appendix of the Punic War*. The correlative for *tunc* is to be supplied with *sicut . . . Macedonici*. For the meaning of *accessio* cf. 30, 40, 3 *Syphacis filium, quae parva bene gestae rei accessio erat, devictum*. — **Gentius**: an Illyrian king, ally of Perseus.

3. **quos . . . contingebat**: *with whom he was connected by blood and birth*. *sanguis ac genus* is a set phrase, found several times in Livy. The Macedonian kings were descended, not from Alexander, but from Antigonus, father of Demetrius Poliorcetes. — **conspectum**: *conspicuous*; see on 3, 50, 3. — **efficiebat**: see on *Praef.* 5. — **Macedonum**: pred. poss. gen.; cf. 1, 25, 13 *alteri' dicionis alienae facti*. For the thought of this section cf. 31, 1, 6 f. *pacem Punicam bellum Macedonicum excepit, periculum haudquaquam conparandum aut virtute ducis aut militum robore, claritate regum antiquorum vetustaque fama gentis et magnitudine imperi, quo multa quondam Europae, maiorem partem Asiae obtinuerant armis, prope nobilius.*

4. **pullo amictu**: see on 3, 47, 1. — **prae**: see on 1, 29, 3. — **submoto**: *by clearing a space*; impersonal abl. abs.; cf. 22, 4, 4 *inexplorato*.

gressusque paulum, introeunti regi dextram porrexit. Submittentemque se ad pedes sustulit, nec attingere genua passus introductum in tabernaculum adversus advocatos in consilium considere iussit.

8. Prima percontatio fuit, qua subactus iniuria contra 1
populum Romanum bellum tam infesto animo suscepisset, quo se regnumque suum ad ultimum discrimen adduceret. Cum, responsum exspectantibus cunctis, terram intuens 2
diu tacitus fleret, rursum consul: "Si iuvenis regnum ac- 3
cepisses, minus equidem mirarer ignorasse te, quam gravis aut amicus aut inimicus esset populus Romanus; nunc 4
vero, cum et bello patris tui, quod nobiscum gessit, interfuisses, et pacis postea, quam cum summa fide adversus eum coluimus, meminisses, *quod fuit* consilium, quorum et vim *in* bello et fidem in pace expertus esses, cum iis tibi bellum esse quam pacem malle?" Nec interrogatus nec 5
accusatus cum responderet, "Vtcumque tamen haec, sive errore humano seu casu seu necessitate, inciderunt, bonum

5. **iussis . . . aliis**: that they might show him no honor; an implication that he was no longer a king. — **progressusque**: for this not unusual combination of an adj. or participle with the abl. abs. cf. 1, 1, 4 *profugum, sed . . . fatis*. — **advocatos in consilium**: *those who had been called into council*.

8. 1. **quo** = *ut eo; bellum* is the antecedent; a characteristic clause of result. — **ultimum discrimen**: a point where existence itself was at stake.

4. **nunc**: *as it is;* cf. 1, 28, 9. — **bello**: the Second Macedonian War, which began in 200 and ended with the battle of Cynoscephalae in 197. The peace which followed had not been violated when Philip died in 179. — **adversus**: see on 5, 35, 4. — **quod fuit consilium . . . malle**: *what was your reason for preferring. malle* is best explained as pred. nom., the literal meaning being, *what sort of judgment was your preference.*

5. **utcumque**: *however;* see on *Praef.* 3. — **tamen**: belongs properly in the principal clause, *bonum . . . habe;* cf. *Praef.* 3. — **regum et populorum**: see on 21, 43, 11.

animum habe. Multorum regum *et* populorum casibus cognita populi Romani clementia non modo spem tibi, sed
6 prope certam fiduciam salutis praebet." Haec Graeco sermone Perseo; Latine deinde suis "exemplum insigne cernitis" inquit "mutationis rerum humanarum. Vobis hoc praecipue dico, iuvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam superbe ac violenter consulere decet, nec praesenti credere fortunae, cum quid vesper ferat incertum
7 sit. Is demum vir erit, cuius animum neque prospera flatu suo efferent nec adversa infringent." Consilio di-
8 misso, tuendi cura regis Q. Aelio mandatur. Eo die et invitatus ad consulem Perseus et alius omnis ei honos habitus est qui haberi in tali fortuna poterat. Exercitus deinde in hiberna dimissus est.

1 9. Maximam partem copiarum Amphipolis, reliquas propinquae urbes acceperunt.

2 Hic finis belli, cum quadriennium continuum bellatum esset, inter Romanos ac Persea fuit, idemque finis inclu-
3 per Europae plerumque atque Asiam omnem regni. Vicesimum ab Carano, qui primus regnabat, Persea numerabant. Perseus Q. Fulvio, L. Manlio consulibus regnum

6. **nihil . . . consulere**: a rare construction; *nihil* is an acc. of kindred meaning, — *to make no decision*; 26, 33, 3 *ut quicquam de se gravius consulerent*. For other constructions with *consulere* see on 2, 28, 2 and 22, 45, 5. — **cum . . . sit**: Ter. *Phorm.* 241 f. *quom secundae res sunt maxume, tum maxume Meditari secum oportet, quo pacto advorsam aerumnam ferant*.

8. **invitatus . . . consulem**: *he was invited to dine with the consul*. — **habitus est**: see on 5, 37, 4.

9. 2. **quadriennium**: 171–168; the fourth year was not completed. — **per Europae plerumque**: see on 5, 38, 4 *in aequo campi*; 31, 1, 7 *multa quondam Europae . . . obtinuerant*.

3. **vicesimum**: Justin 33, 2 says there were thirty kings. — **Carano**: mythical descendant of Heracles and founder of the Macedonian kingdom. — **Q. Fulvio . . . consuli-**

accepit, a sexto rex est appellatus. M. Iunio, A. Manlio consulibus, regnavit undecim annos.

Macedonum gens obscura admodum fama usque ad 4
Philippum, Amyntae filium, fuit. Inde ad per eum crescere cum coepisset, Europae se tamen finibus continuit, Graeciam omnem et partem Thraciae atque Illyrici amplexa. Superiecit deinde se in Asiam, et tredecim annis, quibus 5
Alexander regnavit, primum omnia, qua Persarum prope immensa patuit imperium, tenuit, usque dicionis fecit; Arabas, 6
quo Indumque, qua terrarum ultimos fines Rubrum mare amplectitur, penetravit. Tum maximum in terris Mace- 7
donum regnum nomenque; inde morte Alexandri distractum in multa regna, dum ad se quisque opes rapiunt, brevi virtus, a summo culmine fortunae ad ultimum finem centum quinquaginta annos stetit.

bus: *179*; *see 40, 54, 1.* — **M. Iunio . . consulibus**: *178.*

4. **Philippum**: father of Alexander, ruled from 359 to 336. — **inde**: *from his time.*

5. **tredecim annis**: 336–323; *abl. of time within which.* — **quibus**: attracted into the case of *annis*, instead of being in the *acc. of duration of time.* — **qua**: *where*; *7, 33, 10 illa omnia qua . . . micant hastae.* — **prope immenso**: for this use of *prope see on 1, 1, 5.* — **dicionis**: *cf. 1, 25, 13.*

6. **Rubrum mare**: the Indian Ocean, which in the vague geographical notions of the time formed the southeastern extremity of the world. *42, 52, 14 nec ante cuncere desierunt quam Rubro mari inclusa quod vincerent defuerit.*

7. **regnum nomenque**: only *regnum* is subject of the following predicates, *distractum (est)* and *stetit*. *Pro nomen reputation cf. Praef. 3* and *27, 49, 4.* — **morte**: indicating both time and cause; *cf. 1, 3, 4.* — **distractum . . . regna**: ruled by the so-called Diadochi, who had been Alexander's generals. — **dum**: see on *Praef. 2.* — **rapiunt**: the Diadochi. — **a summo culmine**: from Alexander's time. — **centum quinquaginta**: from the death of Alexander, 155 years. *Plin. 4, 39 haec est Macedonia, terrarum imperio potita quondam, haec Asiam transgressa, . . . haec eadem est Macedonia, cuius uno die Paulus Aemilius, imperator noster, septuaginta duas urbis direptas vendidit.*

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a, with expressions of distance, 318.
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